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REPORT

PRESENTED TO THE

Cambridge Antiquarian Society,

AT ITS THIRTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING,

MAY 28, 1877.

See pp. x, xi, xii, xiii, xiv.

WITH AN ABSTRACT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY, 1876—1877.

Cambridge:
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1878

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Cambridge:
PRINTED BY C. J. CLAY, M.A.
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

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REPORT,

PRESENTED TO THE CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY AT ITS THIRTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, MAY 28, 1877.

THE Council begs leave to congratulate the members upon the continued usefulness of the Society in providing for the description and publication of antiquities that have been from time to time discovered in the neighbourhood, and also for the discussion of archæological topics of more general interest. During the past year eight names have been added to our list, which now numbers 72 members.

Mr SANDARS' *Annotated List of Books, printed on vellum, in the University and College Libraries at Cambridge* is nearly ready for the press: as is likewise Mr SEARLE'S *List of Books, Pamphlets and single Sheets concerning the University of Cambridge.*

The Societies in correspondence have sent copies of their issues for the past year; these, together with the antiquities mentioned below, and others accumulated during the last four years, are temporarily stored in the rooms of the Secretary. It is much to be hoped that ere long the Society may have some proper and permanent quarters for its very valuable and increasing collections.

BALANCE-SHEET OF ACCOUNTS FOR YEAR ENDING MAY 1877.

Receipts.	£	s.	d.
Arrears before 1876	4	4	0
Subscriptions 1876	10	10	0
„ 1877	13	13	0
Life Member's Composition	10	10	0
Deighton, Bell and Co., *by Sale of Publications*	1	18	6
Balance in Treasurer's hands May, 1876	124	19	3
	£165	14	9

Expenditure.	£	s.	d.
University Press	2	13	0
Carriage of Parcel	0	0	6
Hills and Saunders *for Photographs*	15	0	0
Balance at Mortlock's Bank 147 15 9 „ in Treasurer's hands 0 5 6	148	1	3
	£165	14	9

Examined and found correct,

CHARLES C. BABINGTON, *Auditor.*

CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

COUNCIL.

May 28, 1877.

President.

CHARLES CARDALE BABINGTON, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., St John's College, *Professor of Botany.*

Treasurer.

WILLIAM MILNER FAWCETT, Esq., M.A., Jesus College.

Secretary.

Rev. SAMUEL SAVAGE LEWIS, M.A., Corpus Christi College.

Ordinary Members.

Rev. WILLIAM GRIFFITH, M.A., St John's College.
Rev. THOMAS BROCKLEBANK, M.A., King's College.
Rev. WALTER WILLIAM SKEAT, M.A., Christ's College.
JOHN EBENEZER FOSTER, Esq., M.A., Trinity College.
GEORGE MURRAY HUMPHRY, Esq., M.D., F.R.S., Downing College, *Professor of Anatomy.*
THOMAS McKENNY HUGHES, Esq., M.A., Trinity College, *Woodwardian Professor of Geology.*
HENRY BRADSHAW, Esq., M.A., King's College, *University Librarian.*
Rev. GEORGE FORREST BROWNE, M.A., St Catharine's College.
JOHN WILLIS CLARK, Esq., M.A., Trinity College.
THOMAS HACK NAYLOR, Esq., M.A.

SOCIETIES IN UNION

FOR THE INTERCHANGE OF PUBLICATIONS, &c.

1. The Society of Antiquaries of London. C. K. WATSON, M.A., *Secretary*, Burlington House.
2. The Suffolk Institute of Archæology. S. J. HARRISON, *Hon. Secretary*, Bury St Edmund's.
3. The Sussex Archæological Society. J. COOPER, F.S.A., *Librarian*, Lewes.
4. The Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society. P. B. HAYWARD, *Curator*.
5. The Associated Architectural Societies of Lincoln, York, Bedford, Leicester, &c. Rev. G. F. HARVEY, *General Secretary*, Vicar's Court, Lincoln.
6. The Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire. J. HARRIS GIBSON, *Curator*, 73, Renshaw Street, Liverpool.
7. The Cambrian Archæological Society. Rev. E. L. BARNWELL, *Treasurer*, Melksham, Wilts.
8. The Powys-Land Club. M. C. JONES, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, Gungrog, Welshpool.
9. The Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland. Rev. J. GRAVES, *Hon. Secretary*, Inisnag, Stonyford, Co. Kilkenny.
10. The Norwegian Archæological Society. ANTIKVAR N. NICOLAYSEN, *Sekretaer*, Kristiania.
11. The Royal University of Christiania. The Baron HOLST, *Director of the Foreign Literary Exchange of Norway.*
12. The Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A. F. W. PUTNAM, *Curator.*
13. The Smithsonian Institution, Washington, U.S.A. SPENCER F. BAIRD, *Secretary.*

LIST OF PRESENTS

DURING THE YEAR ENDING

MAY 28, 1877.

ANTIQUITIES.

From Mr A. J. Duffield:

Seventeen small Peruvian stone implements.

From Mr A. P. Humphry:

An iron sword (probably of Saxon work) found at Haslingfield.

From Mr Roads (of Foxton):

Twenty-eight Saxon beads and two round bronze ornaments.

BOOKS.

From the Society of Antiquaries of London:

Proceedings of the Society. 2nd Series, Vol. VI. Nos. 5 and 6; Vol. VII. No. 1, 8vo. London (1876—77).

From the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society:

Transactions of the Society. 2nd Series, Vol. III. Part 2, 4to. Exeter (1877).

From the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire:

Transactions of the Society. Vols. XXVII. and XXVIII. 8vo. Liverpool (1875—76).

From the Powys-Land Club:

Montgomeryshire Collections. Vols. VII. VIII. IX. and X. Part 1, 8vo. London (1874—77).

From the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland:

Journal of the Society. 4th Series, Vol. III. No. 24; Vol. IV. Nos. 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, royal 8vo. Dublin, (1875—77).

From the Norwegian Archæological Society:

Transactions of the Society. 2 Parts, with Index, 8vo. Kristiania, 1876.

Brandanus Saga. Pp. 4, royal 8vo. Kristiania, (1876).

From the Peabody Museum, Cambridge, U.S.A.:

Ninth Annual Report of the Trustees. 8vo. Cambridge, (1876).

From the Smithsonian Institution:

Annual Report of the Board of Regents for 1875. 8vo. Washington, (1876).

From Mr F. W. Hayden, U.S. Geologist.

Annual Report of the United States Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories for 1874. 8vo. Washington, (1876).

AN ABSTRACT OF THE PROCEEDINGS AT THE MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

Nov. 13, 1876. Professor C. C. Babington, President, in the chair.

The following new Member was elected:

Robert Bowes, Esq.

Mr J. W. Clark made some remarks on the system adopted for storing and delivering books in mediæval Collegiate Libraries, particularly with reference to the forthcoming work by Professor Willis. He exhibited a model of the *stalls* and *subsellia* in Merton College Library (Oxford), which showed the system of *chaining* there employed; and deduced from the model the subsequent changes in collegiate book-cases, illustrated by those now to be seen in Trinity Hall, Queens', King's, and Trinity Colleges in Cambridge.

Mr T. H. Naylor exhibited and described a fresco painting on a block of Caen stone, found about five years ago in Chesterton Church in this County. (See Communications, Vol. IV., No. I.)

Professor Babington read and criticised the draft of a letter by John Gerard to the first Lord Burghley, proposing the formation of a Physic Garden at Cambridge, shortly before 1598. (See Communications, Vol. IV., No. II.)

Mr Rutter exhibited an *aureus* of Nero (obv. Nero's head laureated, *leg.* NERO CAESAR; rev. Nero's statue at full length, with radiated head holding a victory and a laurel branch, *leg.* AVGVSTVS GERMANICVS), found by a fisherman of Pakefield, Suffolk, on Kessingland Cliff, in February, 1875.

Mr Lewis exhibited (on the part of the Rev. Dr Swainson) a copy of letters of *Indulgence*, printed, somewhere in Germany, on vellum, and issued in 1489 by Raymundus Peraudi, Archdeacon of Saintes, and the Dean and Chapter of the same Cathedral, the proceeds of the sale of which were apparently to go, part to the fund collecting against the Turks, and part to the restoration of Saintes Cathedral. This particular copy was sold on the 8th of July, 1489, to *Heydeke Hogenbock*, *Mette* his wife, and *Jacob* and *Mette* his children, all of which details are filled up by the 'Pardoner' in ink. In answer to some queries on the subject Mr Bradshaw stated that the earliest extant example of printing is an *Indulgence*, dated the 15th of November, 1454, which is preserved at The Hague.

Mr Lewis exhibited also a shekel, considered to be unique in bearing the date-mark ℶ. (See Communications, Vol. IV., No. III.)

Nov. 27, 1876. The President in the chair.

The following new Members were elected:

John Houghton Swainson, Esq., M.A., Trinity College.
Alfred Paget Humphry, Esq., M.A., Trinity College.
Richard Bryan, Esq.

The Secretary read (in the absence of the Author) a memoir by Mr A. J. Duffield upon seventeen small pre-historic Peruvian stone implements, which he had kindly presented to the Society. They may be classed as spear- and arrow-heads of opaque and translucent varieties of flint, quartz, and allied silicious rocks, such as carnelian, with a red porphyry and a red altered rock like jasper. They were found partly by himself, and partly by Captain Jeffry, in the sandy valley of the Pisagua river—a district, whose ancient populousness and fertility he very vividly described, and attributed the ruin of the water-courses and the present desolation of the country to the exterminating zeal and avarice of the Spanish invaders in the sixteenth century. (See Communications, Vol. IV., No. IV.)

Prof. Babington remarked that the sudden 'hoisting' by an earthquake, which had more than once occurred in recent times, would perhaps be sufficient to account for the present difficulty of irrigation, and consequently of agriculture in Peru, even without the pressure put upon the inhabitants to work the silver mines in the neighbourhood.

Professor Colvin exhibited two pencil drawings of John Flaxman, R.A., which had been among those remaining in the artist's family after his death, and sold at the sale of his grand-nephew, Mr T. J. Denman, in April of this year. They represented two compartments of the famous sculptures in relief, executed in the early part of the fourteenth century, on the façade of the Cathedral of Orvieto. Professor Colvin gave a brief account of the general character of these sculptures, insisting on their peculiar excellence, and their in many respects unique character, among the works of Italian sculpture, and on the improbability of the tradition assigning their execution to Giovanni Pisano. The subject was illustrated by several photographs of the façade, and of its details. The two compartments which Flaxman had copied represent scenes of the Last Judgment—the Resurrection of the Dead, and the Condemnation of Sinners. Professor Colvin dwelt on the drawings as being of especial interest, (1) as illustrating Flaxman's travels in Italy, and the enthusiasm with which he studied Gothic and Early Renaissance monuments which were not generally esteemed in his time; (2) as shewing his facility, accuracy, and exquisite style as a draughtsman; (3) as proving how, in spite of his enthusiasm and his skill, his genius was nevertheless incapable of expressing the power, grimness, and fierce intensity which were the special characteristics of these surprising inventions.

March 5, 1877. The President in the chair.

The following new Member was elected:

Alfred Newton, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., Fellow of Magdalene College, Professor of Zoology and Comparative Anatomy.

Mr Pearson gave a short account of the relics of the Arctic explorer, Barentz, which are now to be seen at The Hague. The story of Barentz, though already tolerably well known, had, he said, been lately republished in an exhaustive manner by the Hakluyt Society; a good sketch might also be found in Motley's *United Netherlands*, III. 521—545. Although it had been well known in what part of the island of Nova Zembla Barentz and his companions spent the winter of 1596—7, still there is no reason to suppose that any civilized European had ever reached the spot till it was visited in 1871 by the captain of a Norwegian sealing sloop, named Carlsen. Extracts were given from Carlsen's diary, from which it appeared that after rounding the north-eastern extremity of the island, he reached the so-called Ice-harbour of Barentz, "where he saw a house on shore which had fallen in, built of fir planks." He spent from the 9th to the 14th of September in the neighbourhood, and describes the ruins of the house, from which he recovered a number of articles, mostly iron or copper, and also three or four books in fairly good preservation. On Carlsen's return to Hammerfest these relics were purchased from him for £600 by an English gentleman, Mr Lister Kay, who subsequently transferred them to the Dutch government, by whom they have been deposited in a room of the museum attached to their Naval School, in a house made exactly to imitate the original. Mr Pearson said that these relics were visited by himself in 1875; they were of the simplest kind, being mostly common household utensils of iron or copper; and the most interesting were a kind of astrolabe; some books in fair preservation; some of the wheels of a clock; some ornamented candlesticks, probably for sale; a large matchlock, with fragments of others; and some powder in horns. Mr Pearson also mentioned that in 1876, another English gentleman, Mr Gardiner, had visited the spot in his yacht, and brought home a number of curiosities, including several wax-candles, possibly the oldest existing in the world, and also the manuscript account of the way in which Barentz and his party spent the winter, known to have been left there, and signed by Barentz and Heemskerk, the latter of whom afterwards highly distinguished himself in the service of his country. This last collection Mr Pearson said he had of course not seen. Mr Pearson also referred to Petermann's *Mittheilungen* for 1872 as containing a good account of Carlsen's discovery, with maps of the locality; and he also made some remarks on the hitherto unexplained phenomenon, by which the sun was seen by Barentz on the 24th and 27th of January, 1597, whereas it ought not to have been visible before Feb. 10. The question, he said, had been recently examined in a long paper printed in one of the last volumes of the *Comptes Rendus* of the French Academy of Sciences,

where references would be found to earlier discussions of the question; also in the recently published volume of the Hakluyt Society, pp. cxliv—clv.

Mr J. W. Clark gave a description of Jocelin's *Historiola Collegii Corporis Christi*. (The complete *Historiola* will be printed among the Publications of the Society in 8vo.)

Mr Lewis exhibited by favour of Mr C. W. King) an *ampulla* and a *patella* of Romano-British pottery, which have been lately found at Haslingfield in this county: they are now preserved in the Library of Trinity College.

March 19, 1877. The President in the chair.

The following new Members were elected:

Rev. Francis George Howard, M.A., Trinity College.
Oscar Browning, Esq., M.A., Fellow of King's College.

Mr Marr (of St John's College) exhibited an early British vase and human bones found within it, which had been recently discovered at Fen Ditton in this county. The vase is about one foot in height and eight inches in diameter at the top, but somewhat larger in the middle: it was manifestly hand-made, and had probably been burnt by firing fern, which had been piled up within and around it.

Professor Hughes remarked that similar pottery is still made for domestic purposes at Ordesan in the Pyrenees.

Mr Magnússon described a Runic Calendar, exhibited by the Rev. J. Beck, Rector of Parham, Sussex. (The Calendar is printed with Mr Magnússon's remarks in the Communications, No. V.)

May 14, 1877. The President in the chair.

Mr A. P. Humphry exhibited a very rare book of Bible plates, printed at Oxford in 1677, on which he made the following remarks:—

"The author of this book, Robert Whitehall, was a student of Christ Church, Oxford, was ejected thence in 1648 by the Parliamentary Visitors for declining to submit to their authority, but was appointed in 1650, on due submission made to the Committee for the regulation of Oxford University, to a Fellowship at Merton College. He appears thenceforth to have been a frequent writer of moderate poems for time-serving purposes.

"Above each one of the 258 plates is printed its title in English together with a classical quotation, and beneath each plate is an explanatory *Hexastich* in English, whence the title of the book ΕΞΑΣΤΙΧΟΝ · ΙΕΡΟΝ.

"The copper-plates were brought by the author from Holland. They are copies from a series executed in 1627 by Matthew Merian of Basel, a most prolific engraver. There is in the Fitzwilliam Museum an imperfect collection of original prints of the Old Testament portion of the series. They are of no great artistic value.

"Only twelve copies of the book were printed; of these the author gave

one to the king, and the remainder to young men of noble family. Unfortunately it seems to be impossible to ascertain who were the previous owners of the copy exhibited. Scarcely any of the bibliographical works mention this book. It is not in the British Museum, the Bodleian Library at Oxford, or the Cambridge University Library, and I have in vain made considerable efforts to ascertain the existence of another copy."

Since the date of the above communication Mr Humphry has ascertained the existence of another copy in the possession of Mr J. E. Gibson Craig, of Edinburgh, who obtained it at the sale of the Hyndford library in 1832. The earldom of Hyndford, now dormant, was bestowed in 1701 upon John, second Baron Carmichael, whose grandfather, Sir James Carmichael, Bart., of Hyndford, was created first Baron Carmichael in 1647. Possibly a Carmichael was one of the twelve original recipients of copies of the book.

Mr Humphry also exhibited an iron sword—7½ in. long in the blade, 3½ in. long in the handle—which had been recently found near Haslingfield in this county. He noticed that it is probably of Anglo-Saxon workmanship, and is remarkably short in the handle: from the blade an additional length of two inches has probably been lost.

Mr Carter exhibited a silver ring with a triangular shank, bearing the legend in *Lombardic* characters of the 14th century, on the one bevel IESVS · NAZARENVS · REX · IVDEOR ✻ and on the other IASPAR : MELCHIOR : BALTAZAR—the traditional names of the three *Magi*.

Mr Lewis exhibited and described some Roman bronze coins recently found at the depth of 18 inches near Knapwell in this county, consisting of 23 *large brass* pieces and one *second brass*. They range from the reign of *Domitian* to that of *Septimius Severus* (*i.e.* from 81 to 211 A.D.), and include some interesting types—in particular one bearing on the reverse a funeral pyre and the legend CONSECRATIO in reference to the *apotheosis* of Antoninus Pius; but unfortunately not one single piece is in a high state of preservation.

May 28, 1877. The President in the chair.

The following new Members were elected:

Edward Bickersteth Birks, Esq., M.A., Fellow of Trinity College.
Arthur John Clark-Kennedy, Esq., Magdalene College.

The Treasurer's accounts for the past year were audited and passed.

The following new Members of Council were elected:

Rev. T. Brocklebank.
Rev. W. W. Skeat.
T. H. Naylor, Esq.

Professor C. C. Babington was re-elected President, Mr Fawcett Treasurer, and Rev. S. S. Lewis Secretary, for the next year.

Professor Hughes exhibited a vase found a little to the south of Chester-

ford. It was a plain lathe-turned vessel of the darker material common at that station associated with Roman or Romano-British remains. The dimensions, which approximately give the form, were as follows: height 9½ inches, rim, which is broken, about 16½ inches in circumference; neck at one inch below rim, 15 inches in circumference; greatest circumference at 4 inches from top, 31½ inches. From this it tapers at an increasing rate to the base, where the circumference is 13 inches. He had no evidence as to the circumstances under which the vase was found, but thought it was an ordinary vessel for household purposes, which had been perhaps employed as a sepulchral urn, of which second use there were other examples found in the neighbourhood, as for example the *amphora*, of which a notice had been lately read before the Society.

Mr Howard read a paper on some recent discoveries in Grantchester Church. (See Communications, No. VI.)

Professor Babington said that the small window in the south wall of the nave was evidently of *Romanesque* character, but this was no conclusive evidence as to its date, as sometimes in remote districts a style continued long after it had gone out of general use.

Professor Hughes said there were certainly Roman remains worked into the walls of Grantchester Church, as shown by the broken tiles and the portions of a millstone of Niedermendig lava. He had found fragments of this stone in various other places about Cambridge, as *e.g.* a small piece which he had been so fortunate as to dig out himself at the bottom of one of the pits which he believed were pre-Saxon, but which occurred among the Saxon graves of Saffron Walden, the graves having been cut across and over the pits. He had also found pieces on the hill east of Chesterford. Such fragments might have been picked up and built in at any post-Roman period. He did not think there was sufficient evidence that the coffins were Roman. On the contrary, from the character of the coffins themselves, which he thought were very similar to those found at Barnwell Abbey, he would refer them to the 13th or 14th century. From all he saw or heard, he thought there was no evidence on which those parts of the wall in which the fragments of coffins were found could be referred to *Norman* or *Early English*, but that they might be *Perpendicular* or even later, as it was known that much of the masonry belonged to the early part of the 17th century. There were so many broken bits of the later Norman work built in suspiciously near the parts of the wall referred to Norman times, and so much reconstruction of old materials, that he thought we could not feel sure about the age of any part of the wall. He hoped that the old moulded and dressed stones and coffins would not be destroyed or built in again, but that these scraps of evidence as to the history of such an interesting place would be preserved together for future enquirers.

The Secretary communicated a paper on an Etruscan bronze of *Spes Vetus*, received from the Rev. C. W. King, Senior Fellow of Trinity College. (See Communications, No. VII.)

LAWS.

I. THAT the Society be for the encouragement of the study of History, Architecture, and Antiquities; and that such Society be called "THE CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY."

II. That the object of the Society be to collect and to print information relative to the above-mentioned subjects.

III. That the subscription of each Member of the Society be *One Guinea* annually; such subscription be due on the first day of January in each year: on the payment of which he shall become entitled to all the Publications of the Society, during the current year.

IV. That any person who is desirous of becoming a Member of the Society, be proposed by two Members at any of the ordinary Meetings of the Society, and ballotted for at the next Meeting: but all Noblemen, Bishops, Heads of Colleges, and Professors of the University, shall be ballotted for at the Meeting at which they are proposed.

V. That the management of the affairs of the Society be vested in a Council, consisting of a President, (who shall not be eligible for that office for more than two successive years,) a Treasurer, a Secretary, and not more than twelve nor less than seven other Members, to be elected from amongst the Members of the Society who are graduates of the University. Each Member of the Council shall have due notice of the Meetings of that body, at which not less than five shall constitute a quorum.

VI. That the President, Treasurer, and Secretary, and at least three ordinary Members of the Council shall be elected annually by ballot, at a General Meeting to be held in the month of May; the three senior ordinary Members of the Council to retire annually.

VII. That no Member be entitled to vote at any General Meeting whose subscription is in arrear.

VIII. That, in the absence of the President, the Council at their Meetings shall elect a Chairman, such Chairman having a casting-vote in case of equality of numbers, and retaining also his right to vote upon all questions submitted to the Council.

IX. That the accounts of the receipts and expenditure of the Society be audited annually by two auditors, to be elected at the Annual General Meeting; and that an abstract of such accounts be printed for the use of the Members.

X. That the object of the usual Meetings of the Society be, to read communications, acknowledge presents, and transact miscellaneous business.

XI. That the Meetings of the Society take place once at least during each term: and that the place of meeting and all other arrangements, not specified in the Laws, be left to the discretion of the Council.

XII. That any member be allowed to compound for his future subscriptions by one payment of *Ten Guineas.*

XIII. That Members of the Society be allowed to propose Honorary Members, provided that no person so proposed be either resident within the County of Cambridge, or a member of the University.

XIV. That Honorary Members be proposed by at least two Members of the Society, at any of the usual Meetings of the Society, and ballotted for at the next Meeting.

XV. That nothing shall be published by the Society, which has not been previously approved by the Council nor without the author's name being appended to it.

XVI. That no alteration be made in these Laws, except at the Annual General Meeting or at a special General Meeting called for that purpose, of which at least one week's notice shall be given to all the Members; and that one month's notice of any proposed alteration be communicated, in writing, to the Secretary, in order that he may make the same known to all the Members of the Society.

It is requested that all Communications intended for the Society, and the names of Candidates for admission, be forwarded to the Secretary, or to the Treasurer, 1, *Silver Street, Cambridge.*

Subscriptions received by the Treasurer, or by his Bankers, Messrs Mortlock and Co., Cambridge; or at the Bank of Messrs Smith, Payne, and Smith, London, "To the Cambridge Antiquarian Society's account with Messrs Mortlock and Co., Cambridge."

REPORT

PRESENTED TO THE

Cambridge Antiquarian Society,

AT ITS THIRTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING,

MAY 27, 1878.

WITH AN ABSTRACT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY,
1877—1878.

Cambridge:
PRINTED BY C. J. CLAY, M.A. AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.
DEIGHTON, BELL & CO.; MACMILLAN & CO.
G. BELL AND SONS, YORK STREET, COVENT GARDEN, LONDON.

1878

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AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

REPORT

PRESENTED TO THE CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY AT ITS THIRTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, MAY 27, 1878.

DURING the past year sixteen names have been added to our roll, which now contains eighty members.

The Museum and Library have been enriched by several presents, as mentioned in detail below.

The Society has had to deplore the loss of two distinguished and zealous Members, Mr J. H. LAW, M.A., and the Rev. G. WILLIAMS, B.D., both of King's College. Mr Law had shown his interest in this Society by frequent attendance at our Meetings since his election in 1872. Mr Williams' connexion with the Society was of twenty-eight years' duration, and from 1857 until he left Cambridge for the parish of Ringwood in 1868 he was an active Member of our Council. Two valuable papers bearing upon the history of his College have been printed in the first volume of our Communications, the former on William Millington, the first Provost (read May 3, 1858), the latter containing Manumissions of Serfs, extracted from the records of King's College (read February 21, 1859). To the Cambridge Architectural Society (now incorporated with our own) he was also a frequent contributor; for the Roxburghe Club he edited "The Itineraries of W. Wey to Jerusalem in 1458" (4to. 1858); and the Correspondence of Bishop Bekynton (2 vols. 8vo. 1872), for the Master of the Rolls' series.

But he will be more especially remembered for his great work on *Jerusalem, The Holy City* (2 vols. 8vo. London, 2nd edition, 1849), and for the enthusiastic perseverance with which he promoted the movement for the union of the Anglican with the Eastern Church.

Mr SANDARS' *List of Books printed on Vellum*, and Mr HAILSTONE'S *Supplement to his History of Bottisham*, are just ready for issue; Mr CLARK'S edition of *Josselin's Historiola Collegii Corporis Christi* is far advanced towards publication; Mr SEARLE'S *List of Pamphlets concerning the University of Cambridge* is in the press.

A memorial has been drawn up by the Council and sent to the University Commissioners, urging them to make provision for the proper storing and exhibition of the various collections of this Society.

SUMMARY OF ACCOUNTS FOR YEAR ENDING MAY 27, 1878.

Receipts.	£	s.	d.
Arrears before 1877	17	17	0
Subscriptions 1877	11	11	0
„ 1878	28	7	0
Life Members	21	0	0
Sale of Publications, Macmillan & Co.	8	10	3
Balance in Treasurer's hands May, 1877	148	1	3
	£235	6	6

Expenditure.	£	s.	d.
University Press	52	16	6
Autotype Company	10	19	3
Stearn (Photographer)	5	14	0
Postage and Expenses	0	5	6
Balance in Treasurer's hands, May, 1878	165	11	3
	£235	6	6

Examined and found correct,

CHARLES C. BABINGTON,
FREDERICK CHARLES WACE, } *Auditors.*

May 27, 1878.

CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

COUNCIL.

May 27, 1878.

President.

CHARLES CARDALE BABINGTON, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., St John's College, *Professor of Botany.*

Treasurer.

WILLIAM MILNER FAWCETT, Esq., M.A., Jesus College.

Secretary.

Rev. SAMUEL SAVAGE LEWIS, M.A., Corpus Christi College.

Ordinary Members.

JOHN EBENEZER FOSTER, Esq., M.A., Trinity College.

GEORGE MURRAY HUMPHRY, Esq., M.D., F.R.S., Downing College, *Professor of Anatomy.*

THOMAS McKENNY HUGHES, Esq., M.A., Trinity College, *Woodwardian Professor of Geology.*

HENRY BRADSHAW, Esq., M.A., King's College, *University Librarian.*

Rev. GEORGE FORREST BROWNE, M.A., St Catharine's College.

JOHN WILLIS CLARK, Esq., M.A., Trinity College.

THOMAS HACK NAYLOR, Esq., M.A.

Rev. HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, D.D., Trinity College, *University Registrary.*

Rev. JOHN EYTON BICKERSTETH MAYOR, M.A., St John's College, *Professor of Latin.*

Rev. WALTER WILLIAM SKEAT, M.A., Christ's College, *Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon.*

Rev. THOMAS BROCKLEBANK, M.A., King's College.

FREDERICK CHARLES WACE, Esq., M.A., St John's College.

LIST OF PRESENTS

DURING THE YEAR ENDING

MAY 27, 1878.

ANTIQUITIES.

From Mr S. G. Perceval:

A black Romano-British vase (6½ in. high by 1 ft. 10 in. in circumference), found by coprolite diggers on Coldham Common, near Cambridge, about 1860.

From Mr A. J. Jukes-Browne:

Nine small flint implements (described and figured in Communications, Vol. IV. No. VIII.), found at Helwan, near Cairo.

BOOKS.

From the Society of Antiquaries of London:

Proceedings of the Society. 2nd Series, Vol. VII. Nos. 2 and 3. 8vo. London, 1877.

From the Sussex Archæological Society:

Sussex Archæological Collections. Vols. XXI.—XXVII. and General Index to Vols. I.—XXV. 8vo. Lewes, 1869—77.

From the Associated Architectural Societies of Lincoln, York, &c.:

Reports and Papers for 1876. 8vo. Lincoln (1877).

From the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire:

Transactions of the Society. Vol. XXIX. 8vo. Liverpool, 1877.

From the Powys-Land Club:

Montgomeryshire Collections. Vol. X. Part 2, and Vol. XI. Part 1. 8vo. London, 1877—78.

From the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland:

Journal of the Society. 4th Series, Vol. IV. Nos. 30, 31, 32. 8vo. Dublin, 1877—78.

From the Académie Impériale des Sciences, St Pétersbourg:

Rapport sur l'Activité de la Commission Archéologique en 1872, 1873, 1874. 4to. St Petersburg, 1875—77.

From the Smithsonian Institution:

Annual Report of the Board of Regents for 1876. 8vo. Washington, 1877.

From G. Buckler, Esq.:

Colchester Castle a Roman Building. Sections I and II, 8vo. Colchester, 1876, 1877.

AN ABSTRACT OF THE PROCEEDINGS AT THE MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

DURING THE YEAR ENDING

MAY 27, 1878.

Nov. 12, 1877. Professor C. C. Babington, President, in the chair.

The following new Members were elected:
George Mackenzie Bacon, Esq., M.A., Trinity College.
Rev. William Fiddian Moulton, M.A.

A Paper by Mr Jukes-Browne, F.G.S., was read, in which he gave a detailed account of Flint Implements found at Helwan near Cairo. (See Communications, Vol. IV., No. VIII.)

Professor Hughes exhibited an antique intaglio sard in a silver setting of the same date, engraved with the figure of a laureated athlete seated on a raised platform, and holding a palm-branch in his extended left hand —the work probably of some Gallic or British artist in the third century A.D. It is the property of Capt. Mesham of Pontryffydd, and was found by his keeper in the earth thrown out by a rabbit, in a British camp at Penygaer, on a kind of promontory running out between the Vale of Clwyd and the tributary stream called the Chwiler in Flintshire.

The Rev. Canon Scarth exhibited four antique gems, on which Mr Lewis read the following remarks:

"Of the intagli now exhibited, two, viz. the red jasper mounted in a gold ring and the unset red jasper, were found in 1874—the other two, unset carnelians, about ten years earlier; all four are the fruit of excavations at Charterhouse, on the southern slope of Mendip (near the Roman road from Uphill on the Severn to Sarum and Southampton), where lead-mining and -smelting have been lately revived on the spot where Romans had worked for a considerable period.

Two pigs of lead—one weighing 2 cwt., the other 1 cwt. 1 qr. 3 lbs.—both bearing the words IMP·VESPASIAN·AVG, enable us to fix the period of activity to between the years 70 and 80 A.D.

No. I.

No. I. is a red jasper bearing a helmeted female head, representing *Minerva* or the goddess *Roma:* the Corinthian vizored helmet is thrown

back so as to leave the face bare; the pose is identical with that of Pallas on the silver coins of Lysimachus and of Roma on the bronze coinage of Nero and Domitian: the serpent which often ornaments her shield is here seen rising from the aegis on her chest.

No. II.

No. II. is an unset red jasper engraved with a figure of *Eros* leaning forward as he endeavours to land a fish so heavy that his rod bends almost to breaking with the weight. One of the most graceful representations of the restless Son of Aphrodite: the work may well be of the Augustan age.

No. III.

Nos. III. and IV. are unset red carnelians, the former bearing what is probably the betrothal of a youth and maid, who stand upright and join

No. IV.

hands; the latter a *Mars* wearing an Athenian helmet and in full armour, with his right hand upraised and grasping a lance, and his left touching the top of his round shield which rests on the ground."

Mr Lewis exhibited and commented on a silver five-franc piece (probably designed and struck by Wurden, a Belgian artist).

Obv. (legend) MACMAHON I SEPTENNAT

Head of Marshal Macmahon (Duke of Magenta) to left: beneath, in small characters, NAPOLEON F;

Rev. REPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE.

Imperially crowned shield quarterly; in first and fourth azure the imperial eagle; in second and third France modern (three fleur de lys): on an escutcheon of pretence gules a cap of Liberty: above, the crown, surmounted by a cardinal's hat and celestial rays issuing from the name LOYOLA.

Behind the shield in saltire a sword in bend, hilt downwards, cannon-sponge in bend sinister, croziers, and two banners bearing the words LOURDES and SALETTE respectively. Beneath, two SACRÉ COEUR medals suspended by a ribbon. 1874.

In base dexter a star: in base sinister Gallic cock crowing: ESSAI.

On the edge, DIEU PUNIT LA FRANCE.

Two bronze coins—a sou and a two-sous piece—designed in satire on the Prisoner of Sedan, and issued in the winter of 1870—71, were also exhibited by way of illustration from the same cabinet.

Mr Naylor gave an account of very interesting frescoes, which have been recently discovered during the restoration of Chesterton Church in this county.

Mr Spencer G. Perceval, M.A. (Trinity Hall), presented a black Romano-British vase (6½ inches high by 1 ft. 10 inches in circumference), which had been found by coprolite-diggers on Coldham Common about 1860.

Nov. 26, 1877. Professor C. C. Babington, President, in the chair.

The following new Members were elected:

Rev. James Beck, M.A., Corpus Christi College.

Edward Hailstone, Esq. (Anglesey Abbey).

John Drummond Robertson, Esq., Trinity College.
William Henry St John Hope, Esq., Peterhouse.

Professor Hughes made the following communications:

I. Not long ago I received a letter through our Secretary, asking whether certain stone weapons were still to be seen in the Woodwardian Museum, as they were recorded in Dr Woodward's catalogues, and enquiries had been made to him about them.

I thought it would interest the Society to have the specimens laid before them with the notes upon them made by Dr Woodward, which indicate Maryland, Virginia, Barbados, Canton, and other distant localities of discovery. The collection was placed with the belemnites, but Dr Woodward clearly distinguished the two groups. There are no palæolithic forms; but the two-arrow heads (Nos. 13 and 14) from Ireland are interesting, as so many similar forms have recently been procured from Lough Neagh, and elsewhere in that country.

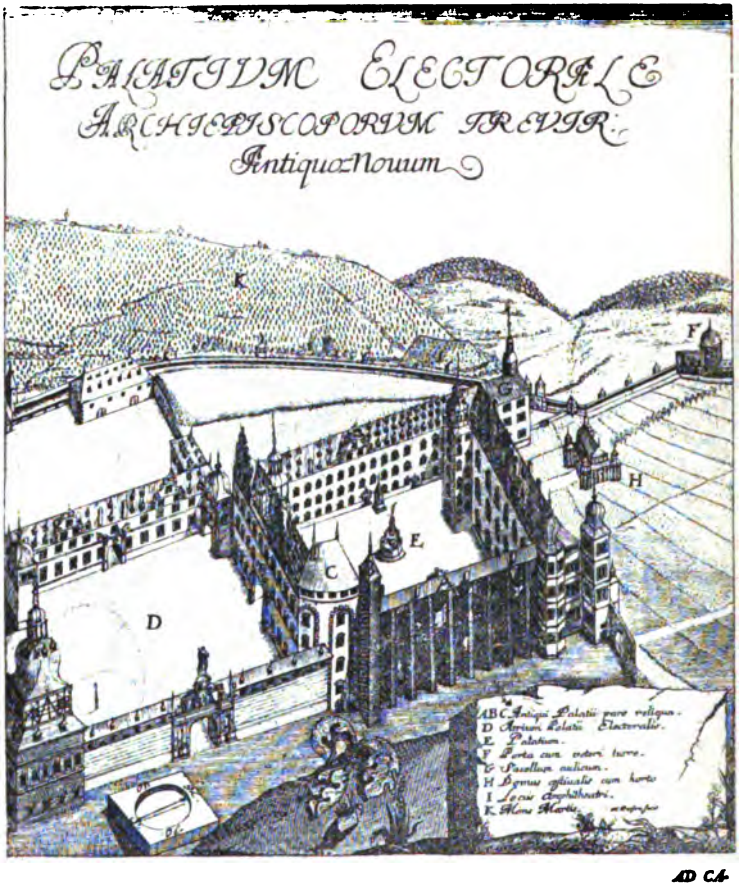
II. On the *Lleithvaen.*

In these days when almost every paper contains some allusion to Hydrophobia, it may be of interest to bring before the Society an ancient piece of stone, which is said to be a certain cure for that dreaded disease, and which has been in use in Wales for centuries. One of the fragments belonged to my grandfather, who used it for the bite of a mad cat; through an uncle it has recently come into my possession. The original is supposed to have fallen from the sky, or moon, as it used to be said. A fragment was brought from Rome by a member of the family of Trawscoed or Mabws, where it got to Troedyraur, and a fragment came eventually into possession of my grandfather. A small quantity scraped off with a knife is taken in milk, the dose being about as much as could be put on a thumb nail, or small coin the size of a sixpence. The other specimen was given to my father by an old woman, who had treasured it up for a long time; I have myself taken some of it, when bitten many years ago by a mad dog, and I have once given a dose to a man who had been bitten.

The grass that grows in the churchyard of Llanedren, a very out-of-the-way place in Pembrokeshire, is said also to be a cure for hydrophobia.

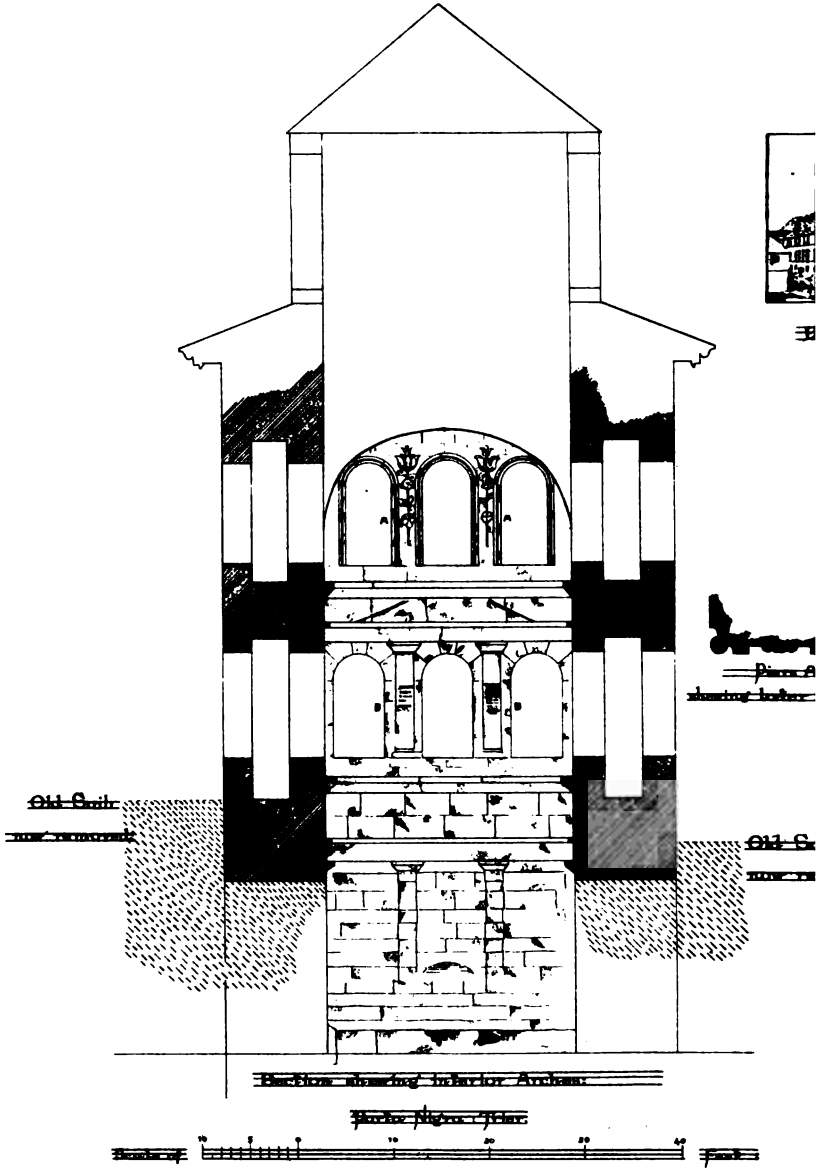
III. On a *Carreg-lab.*

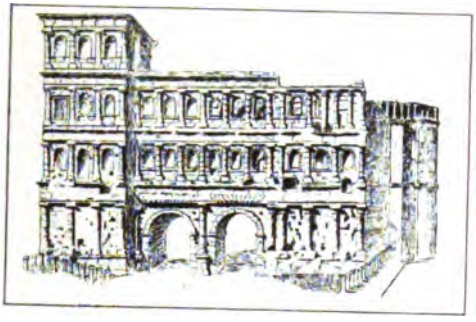
Although the specimen itself has an interest from its antiquity, as I traced it far back into the last century through the tradition of two generations, it is as an example of the use of stone at the present day for what may almost be called domestic purposes, and for the resulting form which it would be difficult to explain were it to go out of use for a generation, that I think it worth while to call the attention of antiquaries to it.


PALATIVM ELECTORALE
ARCHIEPISCOPORVM TREVIR.
Antiquo-Nouum
K
F
H
E
C
D
ABC Antiqui Palatii pars reliqua.
D Atrium Palatii Electoralis.
E Palatium.
F Porta cum exteri turre.
G Pacellum cubicum.
H Pomum officinale cum horto
I Locus Amphitheatri.
K Mons Martis.

AD C4

Porta Martis, et Nigra Romanorum
Nunc in Templum Canonicale S. Simeonis
Transformata





Porta Nigra Trier

Present Condition

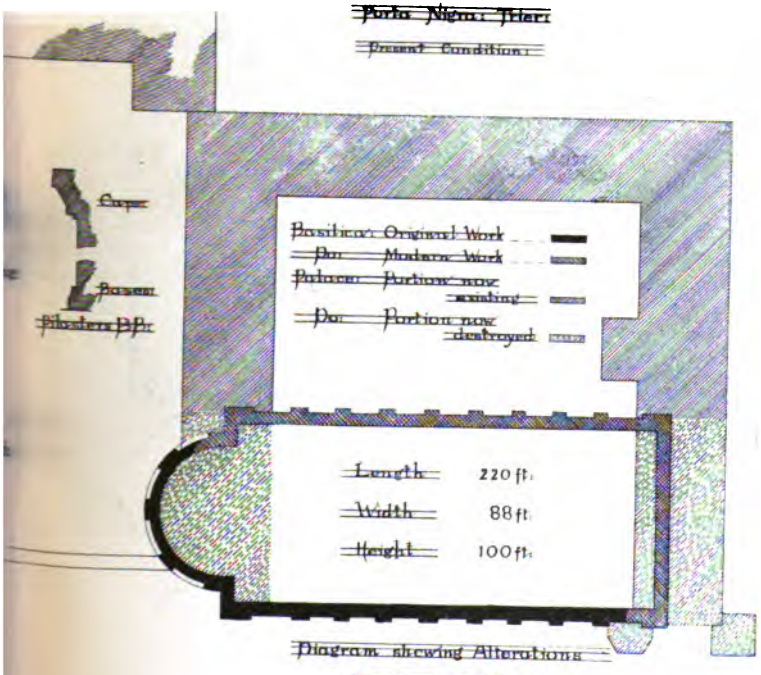


Diagram shewing Alterations to Basilica Trier

The stone is a shore-rolled fragment of one of the greenstone dykes, which traverse the eastern part of Anglesea. Its hardness and toughness rendered it suitable for hammering leather on, and so it was used for half a century by the old shoemaker from whom I procured it; he said that it had been used by the man from whom he got it for some 30 or 40 years previously—how much older it was, he could not say. Though a piece of leather was interposed between the hammer and the stone, it has been hollowed out into a shallow basin by the repeated blows; while a natural hole in the side has determined where they should place the pincers, and the small well-worn indent caused by them may be seen beside it.

The name raises a question of some philological interest. The old shoemaker of Anglesea said it was called *carreg-lab* from *llab* a blow, because the leather was beaten on it. In England, where a similar stone is commonly used it is called *lap-stone*, and the reason assigned is, because it is held on the *lap* when used.

Mr Skeat adduced the Old English verbs to *lam* and to *lap*, meaning to hit, strike; and quoted the line

"I heard the water lapping on the crag."
Tennyson, *Morte d'Arthur*.

Mr W. M. Fawcett gave a short description of the *Basilica and Porta Nigra* at *Trier*. He explained by drawings from Brower's *Antiquities of Trier* (see illustrations annexed) the extent of really old work which remained in the Basilica at the end of the seventeenth century, and by photographs the fearful extent to which restoration had been carried. He shewed that a large portion of the fine old Archiepiscopal Palace has been pulled down to make room for a nineteenth century copy of Roman work with a modern roof, the result of which is far from satisfactory.

In explaining the Porta Nigra he quoted from Mr E. A. Freeman's article on Trier in the *British Quarterly Review* (July, 1875), and related the strange changes that the gateway has been subjected to.

In Archbishop Poppo's time the lower part was entirely filled up, and it was turned from a gateway into two churches, one of which occupied the first floor, and was approached by a grand flight of steps, and the other was above it, and was crowned with a clearstory with a tower and spire at one end, and an apse at the other. Thus it remained until in the 17th century it fell into the hands of the Jesuits, and under their care the upper church had the simple rude Roman arches carefully moulded and carved with Italian work of that date.

Almost at the same time that the old Basilica which had never before been anything but a secular building was so ruthlessly turned into a church, the civil power seized the Porta Nigra, and converted it into a ruin. The tower and spire and clearstories were all taken down at the early part of this century, and more lately the flight of steps has been taken

away, and the soil excavated to the original level when the building was erected.

Mr Fawcett also laid on the table two photographs of Mainz Cathedral, shewing the change that has been made in the western dome. He also shewed a photograph of a curious slab to Hildegarde the second wife of Charlemagne, who died in 794, and this slab now has the date both in *Latin* words and *Arabic* numerals. He mentioned that in Jesus College the coffin-lid to Rosa Bertha has also '1261' in Arabic numerals; but these figures he always considered to be of much later date.

March 4, 1878. Professor C. C. Babington, President, in the chair.

Dr Pearson exhibited a photograph of the dilapidated Roman monument at *Turbia*, on the mountain above Monaco, on the road from Nice to Mentone, and anciently known as the Trophy of Augustus. According to Pliny (*N. H.* III. 20), the inscription stated that it was erected in honour of Augustus, when Pontifex Maximus, in the XIVth year of his Imperatorial, and the XVIIth of his Tribunitian authority, to commemorate the subjugation of the Alpine tribes. The former of these eras is not an easy one to reckon from[1], but the latter is allowed to commence with the year 23 B.C. and brings us to B.C. 7 as the date of the inscription, at which time Augustus was already Pontifex Maximus, having assumed that office in the year 12, on the death of Lepidus the ex-triumvir.

It seems likely however that it was *designed* earlier. Passing over the fact that the nearest important conquest achieved under Augustus in the vicinity was that of the Salassi in 25 B.C.; it is probable that we have a reference to its contemplated erection in the lines of Virgil, describing the conflict of Cæsar and Pompey:

> Aggeribus socer Alpinis atque arce Monæci
> Descendens, gener adversis instructus Eois.
>
> *Æn.* VI. 830, 1.

[1] According to M. Cohen, *Monnaies de l'Empire*, p. 40, the years in which Augustus assumed the Imperatorial dignity succeeded each other at quite irregular intervals: the first one specified on a coin being the VIIth, about 725 A.U.C. (No. 50, in M. Cohen's list). The two dates, *viz.* the Imperatorial and the Tribunitian, appear together on coins but seldom: we have IMP. IX. TR. PO. V. on three described by this writer: *viz.* Nos. 34, 37, 40. I find Imp. XIIII. in one No. 155, but without TR. PO. In the inscription on the arch at Susa, we have TR. PO. XV. IMP. XIII. I have never seen this monument, which is almost exactly coeval with that described in this paper, but a full account of it will be found in the volume of the *Corpus Inscriptt. Lat.* recently issued, Vol. v. 2, p. 815. The letters of the first line are 5½, those of the rest 3½ inches high: and the dimensions of those on the Arch at Turbia may very well have been nearly the same.

It is well known that the poem was commenced while Augustus was absent in Gaul and Spain, B.C. 27—25; that the sixth book contains a reference to the death of Marcellus, B.C. 23, and must have been finished by the year 19, the date of the poet's death. Mr Conington, in his note on the passage, says on the word *Monœcus*: "There is a difficulty in this specification of the place; as this is not otherwise known to have been the way by which Cæsar entered Italy. The most reasonable supposition seems to be that Virgil wrote as a poet, not as a historian." It seems more natural to say that he wrote as both; and that he wished to make a flattering reference to the monument lately decreed to be erected in honour of the Emperor on the mountain road above Monœcus. If careful attention be given to the words of Dio Cassius (LIII. 26), it will probably be admitted that the triumphal arch often taken to have been decreed in the year 25 B.C. in honour of Vinicius, a successful commander of the day, was really in honour of Augustus[1]. Such an interpretation is most agreeable to the principles of the Imperial *régime*, and gives us a date at which the monument may well have been commenced; it will then have been completed after Augustus' second visit to Gaul in 16—13 B.C., and the successes of Tiberius and Drusus in the Rhætian Alps. If it is thought that the present relics, now exhibiting only a mass of masonry thirty or forty feet high, cannot well be the remains of an arch, it is not unlikely on the other hand that the design may have been changed in the interval; and the recent example of the long period of years spent in completing the statue of the late Duke of Wellington shews us that a period of eighteen years is not too long to allow for the interval between the first contemplation and the completion of the work. On the other hand I am not aware of any remains existing in the Alps, or elsewhere, to which the words of Dio can well be understood to refer; unless it be to the Arch at Susa; and this is improbable, partly because there is no reference at all in the context to Cottius, the Alpine chief, under whose auspices it was erected: and partly because the operations of Vinicius are said by Velleius Paterculus to have been undertaken against the Germans, by Dio, some Celtic tribes, but there is nothing to connect them with the peculiar circumstances under which the prince just mentioned became the favoured ally of the Empire. It is true there remains the Arch at Aosta (*Augusta Prætoria*) unaccounted for, but its date seems uncertain.

It is said by M. Millin[2], a French archæologist, that Marshal Villars, the celebrated adversary of Marlborough, partially destroyed the monument during his military operations in those parts, for fear of its affording advantages to an enemy attempting the passage of the mountains at that point. Mr E. H. Bunbury, in a good article on *Monœcus* in the

[1] This is Mr Lynam's view: *Roman Empire*, I. 18.
[2] *Voyage en Savoie*, II. 186.

Dictionary of Geography, names Vauban instead as the culprit. It seems more probable that the responsibility must rest with Marshal Catinat, who was the French general on that frontier in the war terminated by the peace of Ryswick, and took the citadel of Nice by siege in 1691. It is true that Villars died at Turin in 1734, after a campaign in Lombardy; and Vauban was present at, though he did not direct, the unsuccessful siege of Turin in 1706; but it does not seem from their biographies that they were ever employed near Turbia.

Mr Marshall, of Ely, was introduced to the Society, and laid before the meeting the original Court-Rolls of the Manor of Littleport from 1317 to 1327, of which he read a full description. (See Communications, Vol. IV., No. IX.)

March 18, 1878, Professor C. C. Babington, President, in the chair.

The following new Members were elected:

Charles Walter Moule, Esq., M.A., Corpus Christi College.
Rev. Arthur Willink, M.A., Emmanuel College.
William Loudon Mollison, Esq., B.A., Clare College.
Joseph Alfred Bradney, Esq., Trinity College.
Charles Henry Clarke, Esq., Sidney Sussex College.
William Wareing Faulder, Esq., Downing College.
Thomas Henry Digues La Touche, Esq., St John's College.

Mr Marshall, of Ely, exhibited an account of the old Chapel of Sidney Sussex College, with a ground plan and elevation, written by James Essex, the well-known Cambridge architect of the last century, in 1776, when he was employed to build the new Chapel. Mr J. W. Clark shewed that it was a rough copy of the more detailed description which exists among Essex's MSS. given to the British Museum by Samuel Kerrich, D.D., Fellow of Corpus Christi College.

Mr T. H. Naylor exhibited and described several antiquities, mostly found at Chesterton, including a very rare *quinarius* of Cunobeline—obv. Horseman; rev. CVNOBELINI (figured by Evans in his *Ancient British Coins*, Pl. x. No. 1); a Chesterton farthing, and a small silver crucifix, found at Barnwell.

Mr J. W. Clark exhibited (by favour of the owner, Mrs Mellish) a very curious and interesting chained Psalter and Horae, which was written for one John Harpur, of Russhale, in Staffordshire, in the middle of the fifteenth century, and which had been in possession of his descendants ever since. The body of the book, which is a large folio volume[1], contains the usual Sarum Kalendar, Horae B.V.M., Litany, and Vigils of the Dead,

[1] Mentioned in Shaw's *History of Staffordshire*, vol. II. pp. 67, 68.

followed by a complete Psalter, with the usual canticles and another Litany. At the end of each Nocturn of the Mattins Psalms are to be said some "preces et orationes" with an anthem "secundum magistrum Richardum Kaster" sometime Vicar of St Stephen's church, Norwich, in the year 1413. The first collect begins "Respice quesumus domine super hanc famulam tuam..." as if the book were written to be used in the oratory of a lady, perhaps that of Alianore, the wife, or Elizabeth the mother-in-law, of John Harpur. The Kalendar contains, besides some family obits entered in common writing, an entry by the original scribe of the consecration of St Wulstan's church, Russhale, on St Wulstan's day (Jan. 19), 1440; and on the last page of the Kalendar-quire, facing the commencement of the *Horae B. V. M.*, the scribe has written, in lines of blue, crimson, black, and red, three 8-line stanzas, each having the same rhymes, about the book itself and John Harpur, for whom it was written. They begin thus:

"This present book legible in scripture
Here in this place thus tacched with a cheyn
Purposed of entent for to endure
And here perpetuelli stylle to remeyne..."

The border round the opposite page contains at the foot a shield, argent, a lion rampant within a border engrailed sable; which Edmondson gives as the arms of Harper.

But by far the chief interest of the book lies in the preliminary quire, prefixed by the scribe to what is properly a service book. This contains, in the first place, ten 8-line stanzas entitled "A dietarie for the body" (beginning "For helthe of body couere for colde thin heed," very common in MS., and printed by Caxton, and many times since); and then fifteen 7-line stanzas by Lydgate on the Kings of England from William the Conquerour to Henry VI.; followed by three 7-line moral stanzas (beginning "Whanne fredam of princes hem doth forsake"). These are at once followed by an account of the family of Russhale from the Conquest to the time of Henry VI., when the book was written. It begins thus: "In suche tyme as William sumtyme duc of Normandie come into Engelonde with his Roial enarme out of his Duchie of Normandie and so by his Chyualrie and iust tytle and by bataile put out kynge Harald that tyme kynge of Engelonde and conqueride the Royalme of Engelonde, by the whiche cause he is called William conquerour. Of whos lynage succeded the kyngis of Engelonde unto this day. In these dayes as wel bifore the seyd conquest and in tyme of the conquest and aftir ther dwellide a Squyer at Russhale that was lord of the same lordshipe the whiche was callid Neel of Russhale in latinis uerbis Nigellus de Russhale whos auncestre and progenitour com into this lande with the saxon Conquerour that broghte with him the langage of Englisshe and so lynially by succession was enheritid of the sayd lordshipe from the comynge in of the saxons

til william Conquerour com in to Engelonde..." The story ends (with the ninth column of writing): "And in kynge Henries dayes the syxthe. Alianore doghtir and heyr to the seyd William of Russhale at the age of .xv. zeer was weddid to John Harpur And withinne two zeer aftir deyde the seyd William of Russhale. And withinne a zeer after the seyd William: deyde his wyf Elizabet on whos soules god haue mercy." The book and the land connected with it passed through daughters into the Leigh family, and the story is continued from where the original breaks off, by various hands from time to time, ranging through the reigns of Elizabeth, James I. and Charles I. The old boards were re-covered in the seventeenth century, but the original chain still retains its place, with its long links as in most of the specimens of chained libraries still suffered to exist. For two hundred years no entries have been made, except one account of Edward Leigh from Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses;* and the book has ever since been preserved as a family treasure.

It should be mentioned that, on a vacant space following the "Dietary for the body" noticed above, there is, in an early though not the original hand, a copy of Chaucer's "Fle fro the pres," with the title "Le bon councell de Chawcer." Also, on a vacant page at the end of the Kalendar, there is a fifteenth century copy of Chaucer's Balade of Gentilesse ("The firste stokke..."), followed by a number of proverbs (some in rhyme), of which the following may be taken as specimens:

"The begynnyng of al wysdam ys
To drede goddes ryghtwsnes."

"Who that wole be holy helful and ryche
Go betyme to hys bed and ryse erlyche."

"Yowthe may age ouer renne, bote not ouerrede."

Mr Lewis exhibited by favour of the Rev. T. T. Sale, rector of Anstey (Herts), a conical glass vase, 3¼ inches high, containing human blood, which was found in Anstey churchyard during the repairs of the chancel in 1871.

Mr Robertson, of Trinity College, read a memoir on ancient coining implements, suggested by a pair of coin-dies, bolonging to the Secretary of the Society, which were exhibited at the same time (See Communications, Vol. IV., No. X.)

May 13, 1878, Professor C. C. Babington, President, in the chair.

The following new Members were elected:

William Marshall, Esq., of Ely.
Charles Eustace Grant, Esq., M.A., King's College.

Mr Magnússon read a paper on a Norwegian *clog-almanack* which had been brought to this country from Norway as early as 1826 or 1829, by the Rev. Richard Carter Smith, M.A. (See Communications, Vol. IV., No. XI.)

May 27, 1878, Professor C. C. Babington, President, in the chair.

The following new Member was elected:
Reginald Dutton, Esq., Trinity College.

Professor C. C. Babington was re-elected president, Mr Fawcett treasurer, and Rev. S. S. Lewis secretary for the next year. The following new Members of Council were elected: the Rev. Dr Luard, Rev. Prof. Mayor, Rev. Prof. Skeat, Rev. T. Brocklebank, F. C. Wace, Esq. The President and Mr Wace were appointed auditors. (See the summary of Accounts, p. iv.)

The Annual Report of the Council was presented. (See p. iii.)

Prof. Hughes exhibited a polished greenstone implement, which he had himself dug out of the surface soil in the gravel-pit close to the road below the cave of Le Moustier in Dordogne. He called attention to the circumstance that, although flint was abundant and thousands of worked flints of the palaeolithic age were found in the cave above and scattered about, this neolithic weapon was made of a rock which did not occur anywhere in that district.

He exhibited a flint also of the Le Moustier type, which he had found in the cave of La Madelaine, some bronze celts forming part of a hoard found near Tours, and a bronze coin of Probus (276—282 A.D.) with the inscription IMP.C.M.AVR.PROBVS.P.F.AVG., *rev.* SOLI.INVICTO and the device of Phoebus driving a quadriga, found near the Observatory, Cambridge, at the beginning of this month.

Mr A. F. Griffith, of Christ's College, was introduced to the Society, and made a communication on a flint implement found in the gravel-pit at Barnwell, near Cambridge. (See Communications, Vol. IV., No. XII.)

A communication was read from Mr E. Hailstone upon a gold ring, which had been found at Montpensier in Auvergne in 1866. (See Communications, Vol. IV., No. XIII.)

LAWS.

I. THAT the Society be for the encouragement of the study of History, Architecture, and Antiquities; and that such Society be called "THE CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY."

II. That the object of the Society be to collect and to print information relative to the above-mentioned subjects.

III. That the subscription of each Member of the Society be *One Guinea* annually; such subscription be due on the first day of January in each year: on the payment of which he shall become entitled to all the Publications of the Society, during the current year.

IV. That any person who is desirous of becoming a Member of the Society, be proposed by two Members at any of the ordinary Meetings of the Society, and ballotted for at the next Meeting: but all Noblemen, Bishops, and Heads of Colleges, shall be ballotted for at the Meeting at which they are proposed.

V. That the management of the affairs of the Society be vested in a Council, consisting of a President, (who shall not be eligible for that office for more than two successive years,) a Treasurer, a Secretary, and not more than twelve nor less than seven other Members, to be elected from amongst the Members of the Society who are graduates of the University. Each Member of the Council shall have due notice of the Meetings of that body, at which not less than five shall constitute a quorum.

VI. That the President, Treasurer, and Secretary, and at least three ordinary Members of the Council shall be elected annually by ballot, at a General Meeting to be held in the month of May; the three senior ordinary Members of the Council to retire annually.

VII. That no Member be entitled to vote at any General Meeting whose subscription is in arrear.

VIII. That, in the absence of the President, the Council at their Meetings shall elect a Chairman, such Chairman having a casting-vote in case of equality of numbers, and retaining also his right to vote upon all questions submitted to the Council.

IX. That the accounts of the receipts and expenditure of the Society be audited annually by two auditors, to be elected at the Annual General Meeting; and that an abstract of such accounts be printed for the use of the Members.

X. That the object of the usual Meetings of the Society be, to read communications, acknowledge presents, and transact miscellaneous business.

XI. That the Meetings of the Society take place once at least during each term: and that the place of meeting and all other arrangements, not specified in the Laws, be left to the discretion of the Council.

XII. That any member be allowed to compound for his future subscriptions by one payment of *Ten Guineas.*

XIII. That Members of the Society be allowed to propose Honorary Members, provided that no person so proposed be either resident within the County of Cambridge, or a member of the University.

XIV. That Honorary Members be proposed by at least two Members of the Society, at any of the usual Meetings of the Society, and ballotted for at the next Meeting.

XV. That nothing shall be published by the Society, which has not been previously approved by the Council nor without the author's name being appended to it.

XVI. That no alteration be made in these Laws, except at the Annual General Meeting or at a special General Meeting called for that purpose, of which at least one week's notice shall be given to all the Members; and that one month's notice of any proposed alteration be communicated, in writing, to the Secretary, in order that he may make the same known to all the Members of the Society.

It is requested that all Communications intended for the Society, and the names of Candidates for admission, be forwarded to the Secretary, or to the Treasurer, 1, *Silver Street, Cambridge.*

Subscriptions received by the Treasurer, or by his Bankers, Messrs Mortlock and Co., Cambridge; or at the Bank of Messrs Smith, Payne, and Smith, London, "To the Cambridge Antiquarian Society's account with Messrs Mortlock and Co., Cambridge."

SOCIETIES IN UNION

FOR THE INTERCHANGE OF PUBLICATIONS, &c.

1. The Society of Antiquaries of London. C. K. WATSON, M.A., *Secretary*, Burlington House.
2. The Suffolk Institute of Archæology. S. J. HARRISON, *Hon. Secretary*, Bury St Edmund's.
3. The Sussex Archæological Society. J. COOPER, F.S.A., *Librarian*, Lewes.
4. The Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society. P. B. HAYWARD, *Curator*, Cathedral Yard, Exeter.
5. The Leicestershire Architectural and Archæological Society. W. F. FREER, *Hon. Secretary*, Stonygate, Leicester.
6. The Associated Architectural Societies of Lincoln, York, Bedford, Leicester, &c. Rev. G. F. HARVEY, *General Secretary*, Vicar's Court, Lincoln.
7. The Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire. J. HARRIS GIBSON, *Curator*, 73, Renshaw Street, Liverpool.
8. The Cambrian Archæological Society. Rev. E. L. BARNWELL, *Treasurer*, Melksham, Wilts.
9. The Powys-Land Club. M. C. JONES, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, Gungrog, Welshpool.
10. The Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland. Rev. J. GRAVES, *Hon. Secretary*, Inisnag, Stonyford, Co. Kilkenny.
11. The Norwegian Archæological Society. Antikvar N. NICOLAYSEN, *Sekretær*, Kristiania.
12. The Royal University of Christiania. The Baron HOLST, *Director of the Foreign Literary Exchange of Norway.*
13. The Commission Impériale Archéologique of Russia. Comte Serge STROGANOFF, *President*, St Petersburg.
14. The Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A. F. W. PUTNAM, *Curator.*
15. The Smithsonian Institution, Washington, U.S.A. SPENCER F. BAIRD, *Secretary.*

REPORT

PRESENTED TO THE

Cambridge Antiquarian Society,

AT ITS THIRTY-NINTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING,

MAY 26, 1879.

WITH AN ABSTRACT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY,
1878—1879.

Cambridge:
PRINTED BY C. J. CLAY, M.A. AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.
DEIGHTON, BELL & CO.; MACMILLAN & CO.
G. BELL AND SONS, YORK STREET, COVENT GARDEN, LONDON.
1881

Cambridge:
PRINTED BY C. J. CLAY, M.A.
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

LIST OF THE PUBLICATIONS OF THE CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

REPORTS.

Reports I—X (1841—1850). Ten numbers. 1841—1850. 8vo.

PUBLICATIONS. QUARTO SERIES.

I. A Catalogue of the original library of St Catharine's Hall, 1475. Ed. by Professor CORRIE, B.D. 1840. 1*s.* 6*d.*

II. Abbreviata Cronica, 1377—1469. Ed. by J. J. SMITH, M.A. 1840. *With a facsimile.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

III. An account of the Consecration of Abp. Parker. Ed. by J. GOODWIN, B.D. 1841. *With a facsimile.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

IV. An application of heraldry to the illustration of University and Collegiate Antiquities. By H. A. WOODHAM, A.B. Part I. 1841. *With illustrations.*

V. An application of heraldry, &c. By H. A. WOODHAM, M.A. Part II. 1842. *With illustrations.*

*** Nos. IV and V together, 9*s.* 6*d.*

VI. A Catalogue of the MSS. and scarce books in the library of St John's College. By M. COWIE, M.A. Part I. 1842.

VII. A description of the Sextry Barn at Ely, lately demolished. By Professor WILLIS, M.A. 1843. *With* 4 *plates.* 3*s.*

VIII. A Catalogue of the MSS. and scarce books in the library of St John's College. By M. COWIE, M.A. Part II. 1843.

*** Nos. VI and VIII together, 9*s.*

IX. Architectural Nomenclature of the Middle Ages. By Professor WILLIS, M.A. 1844. *With* 3 *plates.*

X. Roman and Romano-British Remains at and near Shefford. By Sir HENRY DRYDEN, Bart., M.A. And a Catalogue of Coins from the same place. By C. W. KING, M.A. 1845. *With* 4 *plates.* 6*s.* 6*d.*

XI. Specimens of College plate. By J. J. SMITH, M.A. 1845. *With* 13 *plates.* 15*s.*

XII. Roman-British Remains. On the materials of two sepulchral vessels found at Warden. By Professor HENSLOW, M.A. 1846. *With* 2 *plates.* 4*s.*

*** Nos. I—XII, with a title-page, form Vol. I of the Society's *Quarto Publications.*

XIII. Evangelia Augustini Gregoriana. A description of MSS. 286 and 197 in the Parker Library. By J. GOODWIN, B.D. 1847. *With* 11 *plates.* 20*s.*

XIV. Miscellaneous Communications, Part I: I. On palimpsest sepulchral brasses. By A. W. FRANKS. *With* 1 *plate.* II. On two British shields found in the Isle of Ely. By C. W. GOODWIN, M.A. *With* 4 *plates.* III. A Catalogue of the books bequeathed to C. C. College by Tho. Markaunt in 1439. Ed. by J. O. HALLIWELL. IV. The genealogical history of the Freville Family. By A. W. FRANKS. *With* 3 *plates.* 1848. 15*s.*

XV. An historical inquiry touching St. Catharine of Alexandria: to which is added a Semi-Saxon legend. By C. HARDWICK, M.A. 1849. *With* 2 *plates.* 12*s.*

*** Nos. XIII—XV, with a title-page, form Vol. II of the Society's *Quarto Publications.*

REPORTS AND COMMUNICATIONS. OCTAVO SERIES.

Reports XI—XIX (with Abstract of Proceedings, 1850—59); Communications, Octavo Series, Nos. I—IX. Nine numbers. 1851—1859.

*** Communications, Octavo Series, Nos. I—IX, with a title-page, contents and index, form Vol. I of the Society's *Antiquarian Communications*. 1859. 11*s*.

Reports XX—XXIV (with Abstract of Proceedings, 1859—64); Communications, Nos. X—XIV. Five numbers. 1860—1864.

*** Communications, Nos. X—XIV, with a title-page, contents, and index, form Vol. II of the Society's *Antiquarian Communications*. 1864. 10*s*.

Report XXV (with Abstract of Proceedings, 1864—65); Communications, No. XV (marked by mistake XIV). 1865. 2*s*.

Report XXVI (with Abstract of Proceedings, 1865—66); Communications, No. XVI (marked by mistake XV). 1866. 2*s*.

Report XXXIII (with Abstract of Proceedings, 1866—73, and Reports XXVII—XXXII); Communications, No. XVII. 1878. 8*s*.

Report XXXVI (with Abstract of Proceedings, 1873—76, and Reports XXXIV, XXXV); Communications, No. XVIII. 1879. 3*s*.

*** Communications, Nos. XV—XVIII, with a title-page, contents, and index, form Vol. III of the Society's *Cambridge Antiquarian Communications*. 1879. 15*s*.

Report XXXVII (with Abstract of Proceedings, 1876—77); Communications, No. XIX. 1878. 3*s*.

Report XXXVIII (with Abstract of Proceedings, 1877—78); Communications, No. XX. 1878. 3*s*.

Report XXXIX (with Abstract of Proceedings, 1878—79); Communications, No. XXI. With chromo-lithographs and woodcuts. 1881. 4*s*.

Report XL (with Abstract of Proceedings, 1879—80); Communications, No. XXII. With chromo-lithographs and woodcuts. *In the Press.*

PUBLICATIONS. OCTAVO SERIES.

I. The Anglo-Saxon legends of St Andrew and St Veronica. Ed. by C. W. Goodwin, M.A. 1851. 2*s.* 6*d.*

II. Fragment of a Graeco-Egyptian work upon magic. Ed. by C. W. Goodwin, M.A. 1852. *With a facsimile.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

III. Ancient Cambridgeshire. By C. C. Babington, M.A. 1853. *With 4 plates and a map.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

IV. A History of Waterbeach. By W. K. Clay, B.D. 1859. *With 3 plates.* 5*s.*

V. The Diary of Edward Rud; to which are added several letters of Dr. Bentley. Ed. by H. R. Luard, M.A. 1860. 2*s.* 6*d.*

VI. A History of Landbeach. By W. K. Clay, B.D. 1861. *With 1 plate.* 4*s.* 6*d.*

VII. A History of Horningsey. By W. K. Clay, B.D. 1865. 2*s.* 6*d.*

*** Nos. IV, VI, and VII, with a title-page, form a volume entitled: 'Three Cambridgeshire Parishes: or a History,' &c. 1865. 12*s.*

VIII. The Correspondence of Richard Porson, M.A., formerly Regius Professor of Greek. Ed. by H. R. Luard, M.A. 1867. 4*s.* 6*d.*

IX. The History of Queens' College. Part I. 1446—1560. By W. G. Searle, M.A. 1867. 8*s.*

X. Historical and Architectural Notes on Great St Mary's Church. By S. Sandars, M.A. Together with the Annals of the Church. By Canon Venables, M.A. 1869. *With 1 plate.* 3*s.*

XI. A History of Milton. By the late W. K. Clay, B.D. 1869. 3*s.*

*** Nos. IV, VI, VII, and XI, with a title-page, form a volume entitled: 'Histories of the Four Adjoining Parishes,' &c. 1861—1869. 15*s.*

XII. The Coins, Tokens, and Medals of the Town, County and University of Cambridge. By W. G. Searle, M.A. 1871. 2*s.*

XIII. The History of Queens' College. Part II. 1560—1662. By W. G. Searle, M.A. 1871. 8*s.*

XIV. The History and Antiquities of the Parish of Bottisham and of the Priory of Anglesey. By Edw. Hailstone, Jun. *With 7 plates.* 1873. 12*s.*

XV. An annotated List of Books printed on vellum to be found in the University and College Libraries at Cambridge; with an appendix on the bibliography of Cambridge libraries. By S. Sandars, M.A. 1878. 2*s.*

XVI. A Supplement to the History of the Parish of Bottisham and the Priory of Anglesey. By Edw. Hailstone, Jun. 1878. 1*s.*

XVII. Josselin's Historiola Collegii Corporis Christi et Beatae Mariae Cantabrigiae. Ed. by J. W. Clark, M.A. 1880. 2*s.*

List of books, pamphlets, and single sheets, published and privately printed, concerning the University of Cambridge. By W. G. Searle, M.A. *In the Press.*

A History of Queens' College. By W. G. Searle, M.A. Part III. *In preparation.*

The Bells of Cambridgeshire. By J. J. Raven, D.D. *In the Press.*

OCCASIONAL PUBLICATIONS.

Catalogue of Coins, Roman and English series, in the Museum of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society. 1847. 8vo.

On the Cover of the Sarcophagus of Rameses III, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum. By SAMUEL BIRCH, Esq., LL.D. 1875. 4to.

*** This paper has also been printed in the Society's *Communications*, Vol. III, No. XXXV.

List of the Members of the Society, May 26, 1879. 8vo.

NOTE.—The Secretary of the Society is the Rev. S. S. LEWIS, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; to whom all communications relating to the Society may be addressed.

May, 1881.

REPORT

PRESENTED TO THE CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY
AT ITS THIRTY-NINTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING,
MAY 26, 1879.

THE Council, in presenting the Annual Report to the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, at this its thirty-ninth Annual General Meeting, have much pleasure in noting the addition of 69 names to our roll, which now numbers 146 members.

In July of last year we lost by death one of our most active members, Mr BROCKLEBANK, Senior Fellow of King's College. He was elected in 1859, thrice served on the Council of this Society, and twice enriched our publications with interesting communications.

Mr SANDARS' *List of Books printed on Vellum*, and Mr HAILSTONE'S *Supplement to his History of Bottisham*, were issued in the autumn of last year; Mr CLARK'S edition of Josselin's *Historiola Collegii Corporis Christi* only waits for a complete collation of this recently discovered manuscript, and will be ready, it is hoped, before the end of this year, as will also be his transcript of the *Building Accounts of King's College Chapel;* Mr SEARLE'S *List of Pamphlets concerning the University of Cambridge* is in the press.

The Museum and Library of the Society have been enriched by several presents, which will be duly enumerated in the forthcoming annual volume.

A List of Members has been prepared and will shortly be issued.

Four learned Societies of kindred aims have during the past year been admitted to an exchange of publications with our own Society, namely

The Oxford Architectural and Historical Society,

The Essex Archæological Society,

The Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France.

The Archæological Society of Athens (Ἡ ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἑταιρία).

During the summer of 1878 Cambridge was visited by two learned Societies, the British Archæological Association and the Leicestershire Architectural and Archæological Society: a vote of thanks has been in each case received for the attention paid by those members of our Society that were in residence at the time.

SUMMARY OF ACCOUNTS FOR YEAR ENDING MAY 26, 1879.

Receipts.	£	s.	d.
Balance in hand, May 27, 1878	165	11	3
Arrears before 1878	18	18	0
Subscriptions 1878	32	11	0
„ 1879	85	1	0
Life Members	63	0	0
Messrs Deighton, Bell & Co.	2	10	6
Stamps (for Report)	0	3	0
Discount—Sayer and Wilson's bill	0	3	0
	£367	17	9

Expenditure.				£	s.	d.
University Press				236	18	0
Akerman, Photo-lith.				4	4	0
Sayer and Wilson, Binders				3	7	0
Secretary, Stationery expenses				1	2	6
Treasurer: Elmslie		0	11 8			
Exps.		1	0 0			
				1	11	8
				247	3	2
Balance in Bank	123	2	9			
Less cheques issued but not paid	1 2 6 / 1 5 8	2	8 2			
				120	14	7
				£367	17	9

Examined and found correct,

CHARLES C. BABINGTON,
J. E. FOSTER, } *Auditors.*

May 27, 1879.

LIST OF PRESENTS

DURING THE YEAR ENDING

MAY 26, 1879.

ANTIQUITIES.

From Mr Deck:

Fragment of an old horse-bell from Haslingfield.

From Mr A. F. Griffith:

A cast of a polished flint implement found at Horningsea in the spring of 1878. (See Abstract of the Proceedings, p. xi.)

From Professor Hughes (President):

A small bronze coin of Constans, lately found at Great Chesterford, Essex.

A penny of Edward III. (Durham Mint), lately found at Haslingfield in this County.

A half-penny token, lately found on Coldham Common in this County.

BOOKS.

From the Society of Antiquaries of London:

Proceedings of the Society. 2nd Series, Vol. VII. Nos. 4 and 5. 8vo. London, 1878.

List of the Society of Antiquaries of London on the 12th June, 1879.

From the Sussex Archæological Society:

Sussex Archæological Collections. Vol. XXVIII. 8vo. Lewes, 1878.

From the Associated Architectural Societies of Lincoln, York, &c. :

Reports and Papers for 1877. 8vo. Lincoln (1878).

From the Essex Archæological Society:

Transactions of the Society. New Series, Vol. I. Parts 1, 2, 3, 4. 8vo. Colchester, 1876—78.

From the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society:

Report of Proceedings and Excursions for 1873—74. 8vo. Oxford, 1875.

From the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire:

Transactions of the Society. Vol. XXX. (3rd Series, Vol. VI.) 8vo. Liverpool, 1878.

From the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society:

Transactions of the Society. 2nd Series, Vol. III. Title and Contents. Vol. IV. Part 1. 1878—79.

From the Leicestershire Architectural and Archæological Society:

Transactions of the Society. Vols. I. II. III. 8vo. Leicester, 1866—74.

From the Cambrian Archæological Association:

Archæologia Cambrensis. 4th Series, Parts 1—36 (Vols. I.—IX.) and Parts 37 and 38. 8vo. London, 1870—79.

Supplement to do., Original Documents. Vol. I. 8vo. London, 1877.

Celtic Remains, by Lewis Morris. 8vo. London, 1878.

From the Powys-Land Club:

Montgomeryshire Collections. Vol. XI. Part 3, and Vol. XII. Part 1. 8vo. London, 1878—79.

From the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland:

Journal of the Society. 4th Series, Vol. IV. Nos. 33, 34, 35. 8vo. Dublin, 1878—79.

From the Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France:

Annuaires de la Société 1851—55. 18mo. Paris.

Mémoires do. 2me Séries (1845), Tom. X. 8vo. 1850. 3me Série (1850—66), Tom. I—X. (except Tome VII. which is out of print), 1852—68. 4me Série (1867—78), Tom I.—VIII. 8vo. Paris, 1869—78.

From the Norwegian Archæological Society:

Transactions of the Society for 1876 and for 1877. 8vo. Christiania, 1877—78.

Norske Bygninger fra Fortiden. Aattende og Niende Hefte. Folio. Christiania, 1878.

From the Foreign Literary Exchange of Norway:

Heilagra Manna Sögur, by Dr C. R. Unger. 2 vols. 8vo. Christiania, 1877.

Rune-Indskriften fra Ringen i Forsa Kirke i Nordre Helsingland af Sophus Bugge. 4to. Christiania, 1877.

Norske Oldsager i Fremmde Museer af Ingvald Undset. 8vo. Christiania, 1878.

Den Norske Træskjærerkunst af L. Dietrichson. 12mo. Christiania, 1878.

From the Académie Impériale des Sciences, St Pétersbourg:

Rapport sur l'Activité de la Commission Archéologique pour l'année, 1876. Folio. St Petersburg, 1879.

From the Peabody Museum of American Archæology and Ethnology:

Annual Reports I.—XI. 8vo. Cambridge, U.S.A., 1868—78.

From the Smithsonian Institution:

List of Publications. 8vo. Washington, 1877.

Annual Report of the Board of Regents for 1877. 8vo. Washington, 1878.

From G. Buckler, Esq.:

A photograph of the north-east angle of Colchester Castle (illustrative of his memoir presented in 1877).

From Mr Morris C. Jones:

The Feudal Barons of Powys. 8vo. London, 1868.

The Early Antiquities of the County of Montgomery, by the Rev. E. L. Barnwell. 8vo. n. d.

From Mr J. Harris Gibson:

The Journal of the Liverpool Numismatic Society. Vol. II. Parts 1 and 2. 8vo. Liverpool, 1876—77.

From Mr H. Phillips, jun.:

Notes upon the Coins and Medals exhibited in the Pennsylvania Museum, by the Donor. 8vo. Philadelphia, 1879.

Proceedings of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia, March 20th, 1879. 8vo. Philadelphia, 1879.

On the Falsification of Ancient Coins, by S. K. Harzfeld. 8vo. Philadelphia, 1879.

From Mr E. S. Morse:

Traces of an Early Race in Japan, by the Donor. 8vo. New York, 1879.

AN ABSTRACT OF THE PROCEEDINGS AT THE MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

DURING THE YEAR ENDING

MAY 26, 1879.

Nov. 11, 1878, the Rev. Professor Skeat in the chair.

The following new Members were elected:

E. Magnússon, Esq., M.A., Trinity College.

A. F. Griffith, Esq., Christ's College.

Mr A. F. Griffith exhibited a very fine polished flint implement, which was found last spring in a gravelly deposit in the fen near Horningsea. The cutting edge of the implement was in perfect preservation, while the blunt end shewed marks of a good deal of use, having been much bruised by blows, perhaps given by a hammer-stone, such as are not uncommonly found. He has presented a cast of this implement to the Society; the original is in the possession of Mr H. Saunders of Horningsea, by whom it was kindly lent for exhibition.

Mr Griffith also exhibited three small Romano-British urns, which were found together last May close to the Observatory. Two of these were of the ordinary coarse black pottery, the third was of a finer yellow pottery with a narrow neck.

Mr J. E. Foster exhibited a collection of worked flints brought to him some years ago by a farmer residing at Wild Street near Mildenhall, Suffolk, and stated to have been picked up by him off the land in that neighbourhood.

Some amongst these were apparently natural forms, and a few of recent fracture, being possibly relics of the gun-flint manufacture, which once existed there, as it does to the present day at Brandon.

Amongst the true flint implements were a number of scrapers and arrow-heads, and an interesting example of a small flint knife similar to those stated by Mr Evans in his "Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain" to have been found on the Yorkshire Wolds and at Yarmouth, specimens of which were stated at the meeting to have been also found at the diggings at Cissbury in Sussex. Some flint cores were also included.

Among the collection were also two dressed hammer-stones and a natural stone, one side of which had evidently been worn by use as a hammer-stone.

Mr Deck presented to the Society a fragment (two-thirds of the whole) of a horse-bell, found last March at Haslingfield in this county.

Nov. 25, 1878. Professor C. C. Babington, President, in the chair.

The following new Members were elected:

Rev. W. C. Bishop, B.A., Emmanuel College.
J. Eaden, Esq., Newnham.
J. Carbery Evans, Esq., Hatley Park.
E. Foster, Esq., Scrope Terrace.
W. K. Foster, Esq., F.S.A.
R. G. W. Herbert, Esq., D.C.L., Ickleton.
S. Hurrell, Esq., Langdale Lodge.
J. Peckover, Esq., F.S.A., Wisbech.
W. B. Redfarn, Esq., Parkside.
C. Torr, Esq., Trinity College.
W. M. Tuke, Esq., Saffron Walden.
G. O. White Cooper, Esq., Trinity College.

Professor Hughes exhibited a small earthenware vessel, an opaque blue glass bead, and two bronze objects found by the coprolite-diggers near Haslingfield. Of one of the bronze objects, which was shaped somewhat like a smooth scallop without wings, he remarked that it appeared to be an ornament which, from the length and size of the rivets, had been fastened on to a thick material, perhaps leather. The other, which was $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and had not been found associated with any other objects, had been referred to Mr Franks, who described it as being probably a paste cutter of the 16th or 17th century. Professor Hughes also exhibited a penny of Henry II., found on the Cotswolds, and probably struck at Lynn; and two half-crowns and eight shillings, all struck by James II. in Ireland of "gun metal" in 1689 and 1690, the shillings bearing the month as well as the year of issue. Presented by the Earl of Enniskillen.

Mr Dutton exhibited and described a *Mediæval Merchant's Mark*. (See Communications, Vol. IV., No. XIV.)

Mr Marshall exhibited drawings of a canoe found imbedded in the peat near Magdalen Bend, in Norfolk, and made some remarks concerning them. (See Communications, Vol. IV., No. XV.)

Professor Hughes made the following remarks on Mr Marshall's paper:

A difficulty might arise from the fact that timber lying in the peat was sometimes accidentally *fired*, in which case the inside of the tree was burnt out, leaving a shell which had not unfrequently been mistaken for a canoe. But in the case adduced by Mr Marshall the flattened outside bottom of the canoe, though it shewed no marks of the tool, could not have been produced by any natural or accidental causes with which we are acquainted. It seems highly improbable that the marks of tools could be observed on wood in the state of preservation in which we find the canoes of

the peat. With regard to the age of the *Warp*, it is a deposit still in process of formation, wherever *silt*, transported between river-banks, is periodically carried by flood-water over the surrounding area, and therefore belongs principally to the period of the limitation of the rivers. The *growth of the peat* also would not in itself involve any remote antiquity. I think that, before the period of the embankment of the Wash, no considerable amount of Warp could have been formed over the Fen-lands: the confinement of the rivers within bounds probably dates from the Roman embankments near their mouths: therefore the commencement of the Warp must be assigned to the period of the great engineering works of the Romans (*i.e.* the second century A.D). As the effect would not be immediately felt high up the rivers, we must not too strictly define the age of the covering up of the underlying peat. It seems probable, however, that the canoe was used by the pre-Roman occupiers of the Fen-lands, when clear water wound its way about through various channels traversing the still growing peat, among which the natives plied their canoes, and occasionally dragged them on to the bank, where, if they were for any reason deserted, they would soon be covered up by the rapid vegetable growth.

Professor Skeat mentioned a similar canoe, which had been found in the marshes of the Ouse in Sussex and is preserved in Lewes Castle.

March 3, 1879. Professor C. C. Babington, President, in the chair.

The following new Members were elected:

C. S. Bayley, Esq., Caius College.
G. Brewis, Esq., Chesterford Park.
Rev. J. W. Cartmell, M.A., Christ's College.
Rev. H. C. D. Chandler, M.A., Waterbeach Vicarage.
T. Coote, Esq., J.P., Oaklands, St Ives.
E. Corbett, Esq., M.A., Trinity College.
W. T. B. Crole, Esq., Salisbury Villas.
G. Milner-Gibson-Cullum, Esq., Trinity College.
F. A. Floyer, Esq., King's College.
Rev. C. A. Jones, M.A., Bassingbourn Vicarage.
J. Phillips, Esq., J.P., Royston.
Rev. H. Pigot, M.A., Stretham Rectory.
H. W. H. Rance, Esq., LL.M., Trinity Hall.
Rev. B. Walker, LL.D., Landbeach Rectory.
Rev. B. Hale Wortham, M.A., Shepreth Vicarage.

Mr A. P. Humphry exhibited the three maces of the Esquire Bedells, and the mace formerly borne by the Yeoman Bedell, and gave some description of them. (See Communications, Vol. IV., No. XVI.)

Mr J. W. Clark (Deputy Registrary) expressed a desire for suggestions to be made as to the best mode of preserving the two maces which, being no longer used, were now kept in the Registry. Under the advice of the late Dr Woodham, they had not been cleaned in order to save them from the wear attendant upon plate powder and rubbing.

Mr Humphry believed that the only proper course was to have them once well cleaned and then kept under the protection of a glass case.

Various suggestions were made as to the best mode of removing the present accumulations of dust and tarnish.

Mr Naylor remarked that the mace-heads of the Town of Cambridge were so constructed as to unscrew from the staves, and to screw on to the foot of the mace, and form drinking cups.

Dr Pearson described the mace of the Ward of Bread Street, London, which he believed was the oldest mace extant, and of which the top was of a shape somewhat resembling a pagoda.

Dr Bacon exhibited an old wooden drinking-vessel. (See Communications, Vol. IV., No. XVII.)

Mr J. W. Clark read a paper on the peal of five bells once belonging to King's College. (See Communications, Vol. IV., No. XVIII.)

March 17, 1879. Professor C. C. Babington, President, in the chair.

The following new Members were elected:
Bushell Anningson, Esq., M.D., Caius College.
G. Barker, Esq., Parkside.
Rev. J. Barton, M.A., Christ's College.
C. Bendall, Esq., B.A., Caius College.
L. H. Cust, Esq., Trinity College.
A. G. Ekin, Esq., J.P., Cambridge.
W. H. Hall, Esq., J.P., Six Mile Bottom.
Rev. A. Austen Leigh, M.A., King's College.
Rev. W. G. Pigott, M.A., Abington Pigotts Rectory.
G. W. Prothero, Esq., M.A., King's College.
R. C. Reade, Esq., King's College.
R. R. Rowe, Esq., F.S.A., Parkside.
Rev. T. H. Shaw, M.A., Everton Rectory.
Elliot Smith, Esq., J.P., Parkside.
Rev. R. B. Somerset, M.A., Trinity College.
F. Warren, Esq., St Ives Priory.
E. Wayman, Esq., LL.M., Peterhouse.

Professor Hughes described a circular leaden vessel which is preserved in the Library of Trinity College, and of which he exhibited a drawing. See

1.

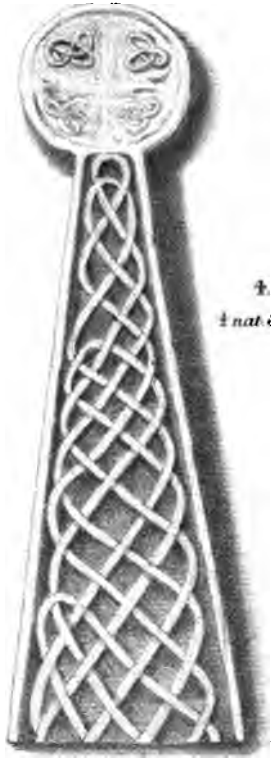
½ nat. Size.

2.

nat. Size

4.

½ nat. Size.



3.

½ nat. Size.

Plate. The dimensions were 27 inches diameter, by 13 inches in height. It was of moulded and beaten lead with no soldering, though a kind of metal packing remained in places round the inside. There were thick projecting pieces of lead beaten on at opposite sides and perforated for rings which, however, had disappeared. The ornamentation consisted of one horizontal and eight vertical bands in relief covered with a zigzag pattern, and three rings in relief between each vertical band. In the central compartment of one side, two strings from the middle ring ran diagonally about 4½ inches down to two other rings near the bottom of the vessel. A thin cable-pattern rim ran round the vessel half an inch below the rough-turned edge.

He exhibited also a similar but smaller vessel recently presented to the College by Mr Hall, of Six Mile Bottom. This was dug up in draining the field behind the School and Post-Office at Westley-Waterless, in this county. Dimensions 17½ inches in diameter, by 11 inches in height. On the outside sixteen figures in relief, like inverted Runic crosses, ran down from the lower edge of the rim to within 1½ inches of the bottom of the vessel. The ornamentation on the shafts was an endless intertwined cord. The head was almost obliterated in every case, but seemed to have been a cross between four endless knots. There did not appear to be any back and front indicated by the ornamentation.

A strong piece of lead beaten-over held iron hasp-like loops, in which were iron rings 2½ inches in diameter. In neither vessel was there any depression or mark on the inside corresponding to the ornamentation on the outside, nor any marginal mark, such as would have been produced by a stamp hammered on the outside. So it would seem that it had been produced by impressing a stamp somewhat irregularly on the sand or other material of a long flat mould and then running the lead on. The plate of lead thus formed had been then bent round to make the side, and a flat bottom welded on.

The vessel found near Westley Waterless contained a bill and spear-head with side-opening sockets. Another spear, too long to be placed inside, lay across the vessel. There were also in it a steel-yard weight, holdfasts, an auger, a small coulter, staples, hasps, portions of what may have been a lock, and other fragments of iron. These objects were so various that he thought they must have been the stock-in-trade of a small worker in iron, who made use of an old discarded water-holder, rather than a collection of contemporary instruments kept for use, or buried for safety in a valued vessel; and therefore, while they helped to fix a minimum age, they could not be accepted as evidence of the exact date or original use of the vessel. From the character of the two vessels considered together, he thought it improbable that they had been, as suggested by some, early Norman fonts: first, because of the absence of ecclesiastical ornamentation on the one, and from the arrangement for carrying them about seen on

both. The soft metal of which they were composed precluded the idea of their having been used for cooking in any form. He thought they might probably be referred to the Danes or early Saxons, and that they had been intended for holding water for domestic purposes, where it was desirable to be able to move them from place to place, as required on feasts or other occasions.

Prof. Hughes described a collection of objects found in cutting a drain through the stable-yard below the Palace, St Asaph, North Wales. They consisted of a silver penny of Henry III., sawn portions of red deer antlers, bones of man and of domestic animals.

Prof. Hughes exhibited a seal or *secretum*, belonging to the Rev. D. Evans, Vicar of Abergele, in North Wales, found in earth dug out for foundation of buildings close to the ancient church of Abergele. The design was a pelican vulning herself, on a floral device supporting the nest with young, and a dragon below. The legend was

+ S' IOHIS : IAVZIUNDI : CLICI.

With regard to the proper name there was considerable difficulty and difference of opinion, some reading it IAV IUNDI, and considering the Z to be merely a tie at the end of the floral device, and some reading L for the first I and some L for the last I of IUNDI: the other words are doubtless *sigillum Johannis Clerici.*

Professor Hughes, referring to former communications made to the Society respecting stations of neolithic age, when the manufacture of flint flakes had been carried on in the neighbourhood of Cambridge, pointed out that most of them were far from the chalk in which flint occurred *in situ*, and were, as at Fen Ditton and Upware, close to the edge of the fen land. He had recently discovered on a terrace about ¼ mile S.E. of Newport Railway-station in Essex, on the "Chalk with Flints," a number of flint flakes and cores indicating a manufactory. He had not found any larger instruments such as those which were made at Grimes Graves, but called attention to the locality as likely to repay search. He thought it highly probable that implements of palæolithic age also might be found in that area, especially in the upper brickearth on the other side of the valley immediately south of Newport.

Mr J. W. Clark exhibited and described some ancient glass bottles, lately discovered in digging foundations in Garlic Fair Lane (Park Street), and also exhibited and made remarks upon three Inventories of Furniture in the Old Lodge of King's College, taken in 1452, 1660, 1689, respectively, illustrated by extracts from the College account books. He further gave a brief history of the Old Lodge. (See Communications, Vol. IV., No. XXIII.)

May 12, 1879. Professor C. C. Babington, President, in the chair.

The following new Members were elected:

B. Brown, Esq., Hemingford House, St Ives.
Rev. W. R. Churton, B.D., King's College.
J. O. Daintree, Esq., Swavesey Manor.
W. R. Grove, Esq., M.D., St Ives.
H. Hodgkin, Esq., B.A., Jesus College.
S. Holben, Esq., Barton.
J. S. Holden, Esq., M.D., Sudbury.
J. Hough, Esq., Trumpington Street.
W. Long, Esq., M.A., West Hay, Wrington.
G. A. Lowndes, Esq., M.A., Barrington Hall, Harlow.
S. Peed, Esq., Lensfield.
O. C. Pell, Esq., M.A., Wilburton Manor.
Rev. J. W. Pieters, B.D., St John's College.
R. A. Pryor, Esq., The Grange, Baldock.
Hon. and Rev. C. F. O. Spencer, M.A., Sutton Vicarage.
F. Whitting, Esq., M.A., King's College.
Rev. T. York, M.A., Eversden Rectory.

Professor Hughes called the attention of the Society to the recent discovery at Great Chesterford of a Roman kiln, and then exhibited

(1) a series of horse-bells from various localities in the neighbourhood of Cambridge, which had been brought to him with other objects of Roman, Saxon, and later date, with which they were said to have occurred. He considered that the very same pattern had been handed on from early times, but was not satisfied that they could be traced to Romans or Saxons from any of the evidence that had come before himself. That some were very recent might be inferred from the letters on the larger one exhibited from Coldham Common, and he had seen one in use on a donkey at Littleport.

(2) A cinerary urn given to him by Mr Pemberton of Trumpington, which he thought was interesting on account of the locality. (The base had unfortunately been lost: the height of the fragment exhibited was 10 inches: the probable height of the original was 12 inches.) It was found in disturbed ground between the road and the river, about half a mile on the Cambridge side of Trumpington, not far from the ford which led across to the important Station of Grantchester, from the line of the *Via Devana*. One point struck him as singular in his researches among Roman remains, that the cinerary urns should always have been just like the larger number of common vessels used for domestic purposes and found broken in every refuse heap at Fen Ditton, in Chesterford, or elsewhere.

(3) He exhibited also two ancient clasp-knives, one from Coldham Common, the other from Haslingfield: he did not refer them to more than a couple of centuries ago.

(4) Two keys and a few small bronze objects from Haslingfield—probably clasps and buckle of unknown age.

(5) A piece of metal stamped with the Royal Arms and J. R. in the corner. The weight, only 1½ oz. short of half a stone, suggested to him that it might have been a standard weight which could have been used either on a steelyard or in a scale.

(6) A Saxon horseshoe found in the field beyond Barrington Common, where other Saxon remains had been previously found.

(7) Some coins from Chesterford and various localities.

Mr Carter called the attention of the Society to the existence in Lewes Castle of a leaden vessel found at Willingdon, in Sussex, and very similar to that exhibited on the 17th of last March, from Westley Waterless. The Lewes specimen however is smaller than either of those now in Trinity Library, and differs from them in shape, being four-sided instead of circular. It has been figured in the *Sussex Archæological Transactions*, Vol. II.

Mr J. E. Foster exhibited and described a Roman Cinerary Urn of peculiarly elegant shape, lent to him by Mr Jackson of Whittlesford. (The publication of this Communication has been unavoidably delayed.)

Mr Foster also exhibited and remarked upon a ground-plan of the *studiola* at Pembroke College, and a section shewing the probable arrangements of the timbers. (The publication of this Communication has been unavoidably delayed.)

May 26, 1879. Annual General Meeting of this Society. Mr J. W. Clark in the chair.

The following officers were elected for next year:

President.

Professor T. McKenny Hughes, M.A., F.S.A.

Vice-Presidents.

Professor C. C. Babington, M.A., F.R.S.
Professor G. M. Humphry, M.D., F.R.S.
H. Bradshaw, Esq., M.A.

Auditors.

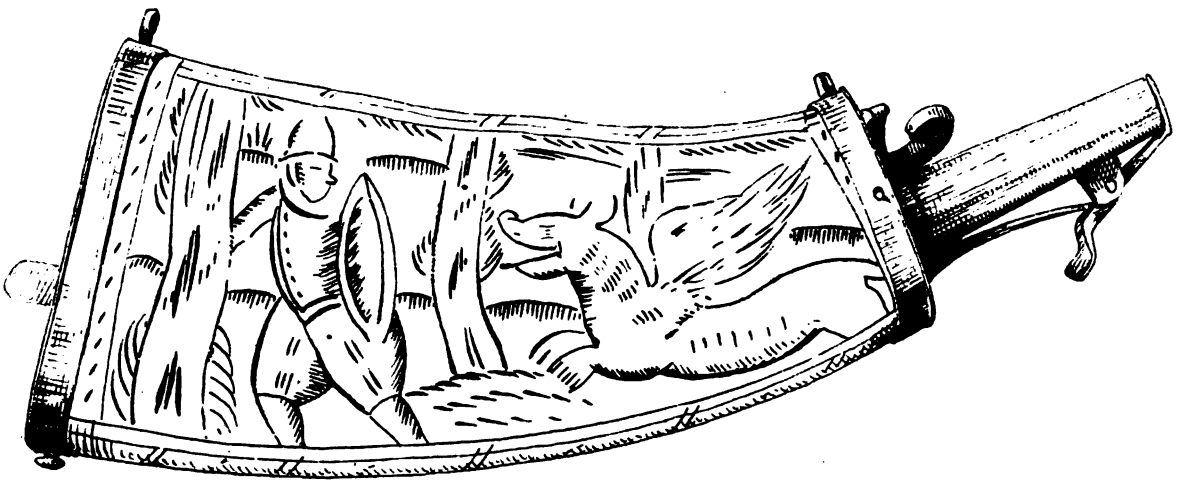
Professor C. C. Babington, M.A.
J. E. Foster, Esq., M.A.

Treasurer.

W. M. Fawcett, Esq., M.A.

Secretary.

Rev. S. S. Lewis, M.A.



POWDER FLASK,

OF THE 16th CENTURY, IN THE COLLECTION OF W. B. REDFARN, ESQ.

And the following new members of Council:
Rev. Bryan Walker, LL.D., Corpus Christi College.
Professor A. Newton, M.A., F.R.S., Magdalene College.
J. R. Foster, Esq., M.A., Trinity College.
G. M. Bacon, Esq., M.A.
A. P. Humphry, Esq., M.A., Trinity College.

The following were elected Members of the Society:
H. C. J. Bunbury, Esq., Magdalene College.
Rev. J. Edleston, LL.D., Trinity College.
C. Francis, Esq., M.A., Trinity Hall.
T. Lucas, Esq., 58, Trumpington Street.
Rev. J. W. S. Rugeley, M.A., St John's College.
Rev. E. J. Heriz Smith, M.A., Pembroke College.

The Annual Report was read, and is given in full on pages iii. and iv.

The Summary of the Society's Accounts for the past year was read and approved.

Dr Bryan Walker gave a description of various discoveries made in the course of the recent restoration of Landbeach Church (See Communications, Vol. IV., No. XIX.).

Dr Pearson remarked on the table of distances given in Holinshed's description of England, ed. 1577 (See Communications, Vol. IV., No. XX.).

Mr Foster called the attention of the Society to "La Maison Plantin" at Antwerp (See Communications, Vol. IV., No. XXI.).

Mr Swann Hurrell exhibited and commented on, (1) a large horse-bell, which had been used for business-purposes more than 200 years ago, and is similar to that shewn at the previous meeting by Professor Hughes, (2) two smaller bells (similar in shape, but of modern Dutch manufacture), of *brass lattin*, for fastening round the neck of a ferret when sent into rats' holes, (3) a flat brass weight (dated 1826), which, like that shewn by Professor Hughes (temp. James I.), bears the *Tower-mark*.

The following objects were exhibited by Mr W. B. Redfarn:

(1) A large 16th century *Powder-Flask* (figured on the opposite page) of white horn mounted in iron, measuring 12 inches from end to end. On the flat side of the horn is engraved a representation of a combat between a man (probably St George) and a dragon, the man being dressed in the costume of the latter part of the 16th century.

A similar flask is given on plate 16 in Planché's new *Dictionary of Dress*.

(2) A very small circular Italian *Primer* or *Touch-Box* of brass, inlaid with Champlevé Enamel. Purchased from the Shandon Collection.

(3) An early 17th century *Wheel-lock Pistol* of steel and wood. Sir Sibbald Scott, in his work on "The British Army," states that the wheel-lock was probably invented at Nuremberg about the year 1589, and continued in use from that time till about 1630, when the flint-lock began to prevail. This wheel-lock was purchased from the Meyrick Collection.

(4) A very fine 17th century *wheel-lock*, dismounted, beautifully engraved.

(5) An unusually large *horse-bell* from Ireland, and called in Gaelic, from its pod-shape, a *Crotal-bell;* the letters R. W. are engraved upon it.

Mr Lewis exhibited nine signet-gems from Charterhouse on Mendip. (See Communications, Vol. IV., No. XXII.)

LAWS.

I. THAT the Society be for the encouragement of the study of History, Architecture, and Antiquities; and that such Society be called "THE CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY."

II. That the object of the Society be to collect and to print information relative to the above-mentioned subjects.

III. That the subscription of each Member of the Society be *One Guinea* annually; such subscription to be due on the first day of January in each year: on the payment of which he shall become entitled to all the Publications of the Society, during the current year.

IV. That any person who is desirous of becoming a Member of the Society, be proposed by two Members, at any of the ordinary Meetings of the Society, and balloted for at the next Meeting: but all Noblemen, Bishops, and Heads of Colleges shall be balloted for at the Meeting at which they are proposed.

V. That the management of the affairs of the Society be vested in a Council, consisting of a President (who shall not be eligible for that office for more than two successive years), three Vice-Presidents (of whom the senior shall retire at each Annual Meeting and be ineligible for re-election during the next two years), a Treasurer, a Secretary, and not more than twelve nor less than seven other Members, to be elected from amongst the Members of the Society who are graduates of the University. Each Member of the Council shall have due notice of the Meetings of that body, at which not less than five shall constitute a quorum.

VI. That the President, Treasurer, and Secretary, and at least three ordinary Members of the Council, shall be elected annually by ballot, at a General Meeting to be held in the month of May; the three senior ordinary Members of the Council to retire annually.

VII. That no Member be entitled to vote at any General Meeting whose subscription is in arrear.

VIII. That, in the absence of the President, the Council at their Meetings shall elect a Chairman, such Chairman having a casting-vote in case of equality of numbers, and retaining also his right to vote upon all questions submitted to the Council.

IX. That the accounts of the receipts and expenditure of the Society be audited annually by two auditors, to be elected at the Annual General Meeting; and that an abstract of such accounts be printed for the use of the Members.

X. That the object of the usual Meetings of the Society be, to read communications, acknowledge presents, and transact miscellaneous business.

XI. That the Meetings of the Society take place once at least during each term: and that the place of meeting and all other arrangements not specified in the Laws, be left to the discretion of the Council.

XII. That any Member be allowed to compound for his future subscriptions by one payment of *Ten Guineas.*

XIII. That Members of the Society be allowed to propose Honorary Members, provided that no person so proposed be either resident within the County of Cambridge, or a member of the University.

XIV. That Honorary Members be proposed by at least two Members of the Society, at any of the usual Meetings of the Society, and balloted for at the next Meeting.

XV. That nothing shall be published by the Society, which has not been previously approved by the Council, nor without the author's name being appended to it.

XVI. That no alteration be made in these Laws, except at the Annual General Meeting or at a Special General Meeting called for that purpose, of which at least one week's notice shall be given to all the Members; and that one month's notice of any proposed alteration be communicated, in writing, to the Secretary, in order that he may make the same known to all the Members of the Society.

It is requested that all Communications intended for the Society, and the names of Candidates for admission, be forwarded to the Secretary, or to the Treasurer, 1, *Silver Street, Cambridge.*

Subscriptions received by the Treasurer, or by his Bankers, Messrs Mortlock and Co., Cambridge; or at the Bank of Messrs Smith, Payne, and Smith, London, "To the Cambridge Antiquarian Society's account with Messrs Mortlock and Co., Cambridge."

SOCIETIES IN UNION

FOR THE INTERCHANGE OF PUBLICATIONS, &c.

1. The Society of Antiquaries of London. C. K. WATSON, Esq., M.A., *Secretary*, Burlington House.
2. The Oxford Architectural and Historical Society. F. S. PULLING, Esq., M.A., *Hon. Secretary*, 69, Walton Street, Oxford.
3. The Suffolk Institute of Archæology. S. J. HARRISON, Esq., *Hon. Secretary*, Haughley House, Suffolk.
4. The Essex Archæological Society. H. W. KING, Esq., *Hon. Secretary*, Leigh Hill, Leigh, Essex.
5. The Sussex Archæological Society. R. CROSSKEY, Esq., *Hon. Librarian*, Lewes.
6. The Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society. P. B. HAYWARD, Esq., *Curator*, Cathedral Yard, Exeter.
7. The Leicestershire Architectural and Archæological Society. W. F. FREER, Esq., *Hon. Secretary*, Stonygate, Leicester.
8. The Associated Architectural Societies of Lincoln, York, Bedford, Leicester, &c. Rev. G. F. HARVEY, *General Secretary*, Vicar's Court, Lincoln.
9. The Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire. C. T. GATTY, Esq., *Honorary Secretary*, 18, Pelham Grove, Sefton Park, Liverpool.
10. The Cambrian Archæological Society. Rev. E. L. BARNWELL, *Treasurer*, Melksham, Wilts.
11. The Powys-Land Club. M. C. JONES, Esq., F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, Gungrog, Welshpool.
12. The Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland. Rev. J. GRAVES, *Hon. Secretary*, Inisnag, Stonyford, Co. Kilkenny.
13. La Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France. Mon^r. E. NICARD, *Archiviste*, Musée du Louvre, Paris.

14. The Norwegian Archæological Society. Antikvar N. NICOLAYSEN, *Sekretær*, Kristiania.
15. The Royal University of Christiania. C. HOLST, *Director of the Foreign Literary Exchange of Norway.*
16. The Commission Impériale Archéologique of Russia. Comte Serge STROGANOFF, *President*, St Petersburg.
17. Ἡ ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἑταιρία. ET. A. COUMANOUDIS, γραμματεύς, Athens.
18. The Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A. F. W. PUTNAM, Esq., *Curator.*
19. The Smithsonian Institution, Washington, U.S.A. SPENCER F. BAIRD, Esq., *Secretary.*

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REPORT

PRESENTED TO THE

Cambridge Antiquarian Society,

AT ITS FORTIETH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING,

MAY 24, 1880.

WITH AN ABSTRACT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY,
1879—1880.

Cambridge:
PRINTED BY C. J. CLAY, M.A. AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.
DEIGHTON, BELL & CO.; MACMILLAN & CO.
G. BELL AND SONS, YORK STREET, COVENT GARDEN, LONDON.

1881

Cambridge:
PRINTED BY C. J. CLAY, M.A.,
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

REPORT,

PRESENTED TO THE CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY AT ITS FORTIETH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, MAY 24, 1880.

In presenting the Annual Report for the past year the Council would draw attention to the great success, which has attended the excavations conducted by our learned and enthusiastic President and others of our members at Great Chesterford in the adjoining county of Essex and at Barrington in this county. Of the former, three successive reports have been already submitted by the President and Mr Jenkinson: upon the latter a communication is expected from Mr W. Kidman Foster.

One member, Mr Clement Francis, elected May, 1879, has been removed by death, and four members have retired; but on the other hand fifty-nine new members have been added to our List, which now numbers 197 names.

Josselin's *Historiola Collegii Corporis Christi* has been issued to members: the Report and Communications for 1878—1879 is far advanced, and only waits for final revision from some of the authors of Communications. Mr Searle's *List*

of Pamphlets relating to the History of this University is still in the Press, and the continuation of the same writer's *History of Queens' College* is in preparation. A new edition has been undertaken by our Society of Dr RAVEN'S *History of the Bells of Cambridgeshire;* the first edition was printed by subscription in 1869 in a very limited number of copies, and the work is now nearly doubled in size.

The following have been added to the List of Societies in union with our own for the exchange of publications:

The Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
The Kent Archæological Society.
The Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia.

SUMMARY OF ACCOUNTS FOR THE HALF-YEAR ENDING CHRISTMAS, 1879.

*** By order of the Council, the accounts of the Society are from this time to be made up to the end of the civil year.

Receipts.	£	s.	d.
Balance in hand May 26, 1879	120	14	7
Subscriptions received	28	7	0
Messrs Deighton, Bell and Co.	0	12	8
Messrs Macmillan and Co.	12	6	8
	£162	0	11

Expenses.	£	s.	d.
Messrs Sayer and Wilson for Bookbinding	4	5	0
University Press	69	8	6
Messrs Cowell and Co. Anastatic Printing	1	6	3
	74	19	9
Balance in the Bank	87	1	2
	£162	0	11

Examined and found correct,

C. C. BABINGTON
J. E. FOSTER } *Auditors.*

May 6, 1880.

CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

COUNCIL.

May 24, 1880.

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Vice-Presidents.

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Rev. ROBERT BURN, M.A., Trinity College.

FREDERICK WHITTING, Esq., M.A., King's College.

LIST OF PRESENTS

DURING THE YEAR ENDING

MAY 24, 1880.

ANTIQUITIES.

From H. Phillips, Esq., Junior (of Philadelphia):

Nine flint arrow-heads found in Pennsylvania.

A bronze medal struck by the Numismatic Society of Philadelphia to commemorate the 21st anniversary of its foundation.

From the Rev. J. J. Raven, D.D.:

Two third brass coins (of Victorinus and of Tetricus), found at Bartlow in 1879.

From S. Witt, Esq.:

Two upper mill-stones of Hertfordshire conglomerate, found at Lakenheath about 1850, and a pair of horns of *bos primigenius* from Swaffham Prior.

From the Rev. F. A. Walker, B.D.:

Twelve specimens of South American pottery.

BOOKS.

From the Society of Antiquaries of London:

Proceedings of the Society. 2nd Series, Vol. VII. No. 6 and Vol. VIII. Nos. 1 and 2, 8vo. London, 1879 and 1880.

From the Essex Archæological Society:

Transactions of the Society. New Series, Vol. II. Part 1, 8vo. Colchester, 1879.

From the Kent Archæological Society:

Archæologia Cantiana, Vols. III. V. and VI—XII. 8vo. London, 1860—1878.

From the Sussex Archæological Society:

Sussex Archæological Collections, Vols. XXIX. and XXX. 8vo. Lewes, 1879—1880.

From the Leicestershire Architectural and Archæological Society:

Transactions of the Society, Vol. IV. and Vol. V. Part 1, 8vo. Leicester, 1875—79.

From the Associated Architectural Societies of Lincoln, York, &c.:

Reports and Papers for 1878. 8vo. Lincoln, 1879.

From the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire:

Transactions of the Society. Vol. XXXI. (3rd Series, Vol. VII.), 8vo. Liverpool, 1879.

From the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne:

Archæologia Æliana, Vols. III. and IV. 4to. 1844—1855.
do. do. Vols. I—VIII. 8vo. 1857—1880, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

From the Cambrian Archæological Society:

Archæologia Cambrensis. 4th Series, Parts 39—42, 8vo. London, 1879—1880.

From the Powys-Land Club:

Montgomeryshire Collections. Vol. XII. Parts 2 and 3, and Vol. XIII. Part 1, 8vo. London, 1879—1880.

From the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland:

Journal of the Society. 4th Series, Vol. V. Nos. 38, 39 and 40, 8vo. Dublin, 1879—1880.

From the Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France :

Mémoires de la Société. Tome XXXIX. (4me Série, Tome IX.), 8vo. Paris, 1878.

From the Académie Impériale des Sciences, St Petersbourg :

Rapport sur l'activité de la Commission Archéologique pour l'année 1877. Folio. St Pétersbourg, 1880.

From the Archæological Society of Athens :

Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς. 4to. 1869, 1870, 1872, 1874. Πρακτικά. 8vo. 1872—1874 and 1876—1879.

From the Peabody Museum of American Archæology :

Twelfth and Thirteenth Annual Reports. 8vo. Cambridge, U.S.A., 1880.

From the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia :

Some modern monetary questions viewed by the light of Antiquity, by R. N. Toppan. 8vo. Philadelphia, 1880.

Proceedings of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia, March 20th, 1879, on the presentation of a Silver Medal to the Hon. Eli K. Price, President. 8vo. Philadelphia, 1879.

From G. Buckler, Esq. :

Colchester Castle, a Roman Building, 3rd Section. By the Donor. 8vo. Colchester, 1879.

From H. Phillips, Esq., Junior (of Philadelphia) :

Additional Notes upon the Coins and Medals now exhibited in the Pennsylvania Museum. By the Donor. 8vo. Philadelphia, 1879.

The Worship of the Sun. By the Donor. 4to. pp. 8. Philadelphia, 1880.

Fourth Annual Report of the Trustees of the Pennsylvania Museum for 1879. 8vo. Philadelphia, 1880.

An Historical Sketch of the Paper-Money issued by Pennsylvania. By the Donor. 8vo. Philadelphia, 1862.

A Catalogue of the New Jersey Bills of Credit from 1723—1786. By the Donor. 8vo. Philadelphia, 1863.

An Account of Two Maps of America published in the years 1550 and 1555. By the Donor. 8vo. Philadelphia, 1880.

Proceedings at the Dinner commemorative of the Centennial Anniversary of the Incorporation of the American Philosophical Society, March 15th, 1880. 8vo. Philadelphia, 1880.

From the Rev. W. G. F. Pigott:

A rubbing of a brass in the Parish Church at Abington Pigott's.

From the Rev. J. J. Raven, D.D.:

The Annual Commemoration Sermon preached in Emmanuel College Chapel, November 23, 1879. By the Donor. 8vo. Cambridge, 1880.

AN ABSTRACT OF THE PROCEEDINGS AT THE MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY DURING THE YEAR ENDING MAY 24, 1880.

November 17, 1879. Professor Hughes, President, in the chair.

The following new Members were elected:

G. Nugent Bankes, Esq., King's College.
Rev. R. Bendyshe, M.A., Barrington Hall.
Rev. R. Burn, M.A. (Trinity College), St Chad's, Newnham.
E. Carver, Esq., M.B., St John's College.
W. W. Cordeaux, Esq., St John's College.
C. F. Crowder, Esq., King's College.
H. W. Dumergue, Esq., Corpus Christi College.
Rev. J. W. Green, M.A., March Rectory.
A. C. Haddon, Esq., B.A., Christ's College.
N. C. Hardcastle, Esq., Downing College.
G. J. T. Harker, Esq., St John's College.
R. C. Jebb, Esq., M.A., Trinity College.
F. J. H. Jenkinson, Esq., M.A., Trinity College.
A. J. Maclean, Esq., King's College.
Rev. J. W. Maitland, M.A., Loughton Rectory, Essex.
S. Rumboll, Esq., Corpus Christi College.
G. Rust, Esq., Alconbury Hill, Hunts.
Rev. J. C. Saunders, M.A., Downing College.
Rev. Professor Swainson, D.D. (Christ's College), Springfield, Newnham.
E. Towgood, Esq., Junior, Sawston.
Ven. Archdeacon Vesey, LL.D., Huntingdon.
Rev. F. A. Walker, B.D., Drayton Rectory.
A. J. Wallis, Esq., B.A., Corpus Christi College.
W. White, Esq., Trinity College Library.

The Rev. J. Barton, Vicar of Holy Trinity, read some notes illustrative of the past history of Trinity Church, and exhibited a stone effigy of a Bishop which had been discovered in a niche in the North Transept in the course of the recent alterations. (See Communications, Vol. IV., No. XXIV.)

Dr Grove exhibited and commented on a black Romano-British cinerary vase 7 in. high, which he had lately acquired from Haddenham Fen.

Mr Bendall made some observations on the monumental brass in the church at Weston Colville, inferring from an examination of details of costume, &c. depicted, that its date was about 1430, and offering some suggestions as to the artist and persons represented: and proceeded to draw the attention of the Society to the singular and objectionable treatment to which the brass has been subjected for some years owing to the placing thereon of a large stove.

Mr Floyer exhibited an ancient sickle found last summer by coprolite-diggers at Trumpington: it is somewhat smaller than those of the present century, and is furnished with a ring on the handle.

Mr Redfarn exhibited a bronze ring, bearing a head of Jupiter; the whole appeared to have been cast from one of antique Celtic type.

Mr Lewis exhibited (by favour of the Rev. E. Cheere) a triangular fragment of alabaster (5 inches high by 4⅝ in. broad) found in a buttress at the north-eastern end of the chancel of Papworth Everard Church last autumn: it represents a figure kneeling on one knee, but the motive is difficult to determine. The workmanship is probably of the fourteenth century.

Mr Lewis exhibited also (by favour of the Rev. T. J. Sanderson) a skull and three vases found last month in a cemetery behind the clunch-pit at Steeple Morden: one of these a black Romano-British *olla*, is figured and described in the Communications, Vol. IV. No. XXV.

December 1, 1879. Professor Hughes, M.A., F.S.A., President, in the chair.

The following new Members were elected:

The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Ely, D.D.
W. A. Tyssen-Amherst, Esq., Didlington Hall.
T. Brooks Bumpsted, Esq., Petty Cury.
R. C. Hope, Esq., Peterhouse.
F. L. Lucas, Esq., Trinity College.
C. E. McLeod, Esq., Trinity Hall.
W. Metcalfe, Esq., Park Terrace.
R. W. Taylor, Esq., Trinity.
Rev. L. Woodard, M.A., Thriplow Vicarage.

Professor Skeat made the following remarks:—

In the old account-book belonging to Trinity Church, Cambridge, exhibited at the previous meeting on November 17th, the effigy of the bishop lately discovered there appears to be alluded to twice; once, by the name *Rosamour* (not *Erasmus*, as has been stated), and secondly by the name of *Jerome*. I submit that the name of *Jerome* was given to the effigy, when *Rosamour* was no longer understood. I explain *Rosamour* as *Roche-amour* a French version of the Provençal *Rocamadour* (Rupes Amatoria), where there was a shrine once very famous and much resorted to by English pilgrims; see my notes to Piers Plowman. There were seventeen shrines in the rock there; the chief one being that of St Amator, bishop of Auxerre, from whom the place took its name. It is situated in Guienne. In the *Romance of the Rose* we have mention of William of Saint Amour, a writer who may have been named from the same place. I explain the round body beside the effigy as representing a mass of rock, in reference to the word *Roche*. (See however Mr Barton's Paper, Communications, Vol. IV. No. XXIV.)

Mr J. W. Clark made a communication on the Church of S. John Baptist, Cambridge, in which he discussed the original position of the Church, which probably stood due west of the present Chapel of King's College. (See Communications, Vol. IV. No. XXVI.)

Mr W. Wareing Faulder read a paper describing eight antique swords which he exhibited. (See Communications, Vol. IV. No. XXVII.)

A Paper by Mr C. W. King was read on a Mummy's Treasures recently discovered in the Delta, wherein he inferred from the closely coinciding date and style of seventeen coins, and from a signet bearing the *cartouche* of Psammetichus, that the inmate of the mummy case must have been a Phoenician trader who had "furled the sails of life in the quiet harbour of the Catacombs" about 600 B.C. (See Communications, Vol. IV. No. XXVIII.)

Mr Griffith exhibited a fine palaeolithic flint implement, which probably came originally from the Chesterton gravel pits. It had been found a few days previously by Mr Whitby, of Christ's College, in a grass field by the side of Mill Road, close to the hedge dividing the field from the road. It must have been thrown over or through the hedge, when the road was being mended with new gravel. The road-surveyor assures him that this gravel came from the Chesterton pits. This specimen is of much the same type, but rather larger than that figured in the Communications to this Society for May 27, 1878, and described as having been found by the Rev. O. Fisher in gravel which came from these same pits. In form it still more nearly resembles the Barnwell implement figured in the same paper, though the present specimen is much smaller. It is left nearly in its natural state on one side, the other being worked rudely into shape in the ordinary manner by blows given from the edge; its point has been damaged in more recent

times. In common with the other Chesterton implement above mentioned, it is very considerably water-worn, while that found at Barnwell is scarcely so at all. This may perhaps be accounted for (as the President of the Society suggested) by the fact that the Barnwell deposit is older than that at Chesterton, which is in all probability largely formed from the waste of an earlier bed coeval with that at Barnwell. Any implement first deposited in the earlier gravels would naturally get considerably water-worn before reaching its final resting-place at Chesterton. The difference in age of the two deposits is however not very great. In each we find remains of extinct mammals, amongst them the gigantic mammoth, and it is only by its higher level that we can infer the greater age of the Barnwell bed.

As there exist accounts of less than half a dozen palaeolithic implements found in the Cambridge gravels, it is of importance that every fresh discovery should be carefully recorded. By this means it may be hoped that a greater interest may be aroused, resulting in more frequent finds.

The Rev. J. Beck exhibited a Bronze Gothic thurible 8 inches high, of early thirteenth century work, found in the ruins of Elingheims Church in the Island of Gothland: a very similar one was brought home by Col. Bray after the late Abyssinian Expedition.

February 16, 1880. Professor Hughes, President, in the chair.

The following new Members were elected:

F. M. Balfour, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., Trinity College.
Rev. W. Cunningham, M.A., Trinity College.
Rev. C. B. Drake, M.A., St John's College.
H. W. Hurrell, Esq., Newton.
Lieut.-General H. Nott, Harston.
C. E. Peek, Esq., B.A., Pembroke College.
Rev. J. J. Raven, D.D., Great Yarmouth.
J. F. Walker, Esq., M.A., Sidney Sussex College.
I. H. Wilkinson, Esq., M.A., Upper Hare Park.

A bronze medal struck in 1879 by the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia was presented by the Treasurer of that Society, Mr H. Phillips, Ph.D.

Mr W. W. Cordeaux exhibited three British coins which he described as follows:—

All these coins were found in the northern division of the County of Lincoln in the immediate vicinity of Caistor, a small market town situated on the western slope of the wolds in a slight hollow, and flanked to the south by a great projecting spur of the range which shews traces of arti-

ficial escarpments and trenching; doubtless it was formerly one of the frontier fortresses of the Coritani. From its summit an extensive view is obtained of a large tract of what was once moor, covered with heather and gorse but now in a high state of cultivation. It is here that the two British coins were found which are exhibited at this meeting. The first is an example of that style known as the "Channel Islands Type;" this coin would not have been brought under the notice of the society, if it had not been for the fact that it was found in Nettleton, a small parish on the moor below Caistor.

According to Mr Hawkins it has never been found so far north before, and Mr Evans also doubts the occurrence so far north in England of this coinage. It originally belonged to a carpenter who was fond of collecting curiosities, and he parted with it to the person from whom I obtained it. Why should not this coin have travelled up to this wild spot on the wolds from the southern coast of the Island in the ordinary usage of trade? It is well known that coins are often in circulation in places very far removed from the spot where they are current. As an instance, not long since two coins belonging to the Moorish kingdom in Spain, were found while opening a street in London. And these coins had travelled over a far greater distance than the one in my possession, which only came from the southern coast to where it was found, while the others had to traverse the intervening countries and sea between Spain and England.

The second is a bronze piece, and according to Mr Evans is also found minted in gold, this was ploughed up on the moor at North Kelsey in the spring of 1879. Mr Evans says that it is a coin of the Brigantes, a tribe whose territory extended to the Northern shore of the Humber. On the Obverse there is a rude attempt at a head crowned with laurel. On the Reverse there is a device that might have been meant for a horse, but it is impossible to say with certainty what the artist intended. The Legend reads VEP CORF. After the British the Romans held possession of Caistor, which they fortified and surrounded with a wall. Their coins abound in the neighbourhood including issues of all kinds from Augustus to Valens. But the commonest are those of Carausius, Constantinus I and II, Constantius, Constans and Valens. Now in the vicinity of Caistor many barbarian copies more or less rude of the Roman coinage are found. They are generally copies of the issue of Constantius bearing on the Reverse the device of a foot-soldier spearing a horseman whose steed has fallen on its knees. In some the head is of superior design and rather resembling British workmanship. In one example exhibited the execution of both *obverse* and *reverse* closely resembles that usually found in the Early Saxon Sceattæ.

For instance the hair of the head is represented by straight stiff lines like the quills of a porcupine and dotted lines represent certain objects.

Another one has a rude head decorated with a rayed crown, and has perhaps been copied from an issue of Victorinus or Carausius, common in the neighbourhood. I hope in time to be able to gather together enough of these coins to be able to shew the gradual stages of debasement which the design of the Roman coin underwent, as each copy became further removed in style and execution from the original piece, till all similarity has been lost, and nothing can be discerned but rude unintelligible markings.

As to the bell, which was obtained at Newnham from a depth of four feet only, it is probably mediæval; the letter L can just be discerned on it.

The form is circular, and very much resembles the instrument of the same kind attached to sleigh-harness and bicycles.

In the absence of Dr W. R. Grove, Mr Lewis exhibited and commented on a bronze figure of Mercury 2¼ inches long, wearing a winged cap and sandals (*petasus* and *talaria*), and carrying in his left hand a purse (*crumena*): the right hand is extended, and doubtless once bore his herald's wand (*caduceus*); the right foot is broken off short, the remainder being probably on a pedestal which has been lost. This interesting figure—the third of the kind which this neighbourhood has yielded in the present century—was found about four years ago in a field between Fenstanton and Conington, and is probably of Gallic or even of Romano-British workmanship. It is now the property of Mr Arthur Bunting, of Fenstanton.

Dr Grove contributed also a small terra-cotta head, which had been dug up last year on Mr Osborn Daintree's land at Fenstanton, and is in the possession of Captain Daintree, of Hemingford Abbots.

Prof. Hughes and Mr Jenkinson offered a preliminary report on some recent explorations at Great Chesterford, and exhibited a few of the specimens discovered. Having described the position of the Roman station and of the area over which excavations had been made, they went on to say:—The workmen employed in the gravel pit near the mill at Great Chesterford, about the commencement of last Long Vacation, came upon what appears to have been a kiln. It consists of a circular chamber, the top of which was about 12 feet in diameter and which was sunk 18 ft. into the ground, tapering into a flat-bottomed basin. It was surrounded by a wall of large round or subangular stones selected from the gravel, reset with a calcareous mud, and the inside was plastered with the same. The walls were 1′ 8″ thick. At 4′ 7″ from the base was a ledge a little over a foot wide. The chamber was entered on the north side at the level of the ledge by a pathway which sloped gently from the surface of the ground. A few Roman bricks had been used in forming the doorway. There was a window-like opening about two feet in longest diameter, probably for draught, about nine feet from the base on the opposite side.

The top of the kiln had been broken away at an early period, and the burnt plaster and stones lay at various levels among the other rubbish that filled the chamber. From its contents it was clear that it had been used as a refuse-pit for bones, broken pottery, and used-up household things of various kinds during the Roman period. Other pits dug on purpose to receive refuse occur all along the slope down to the alluvium, but from their small size the variety of objects is not so great.

The great interest of the discovery lies in this, that we had an opportunity of investigating for ourselves all the objects associated together in one refuse-pit, and so probably referable to one period, and obviously belonging to one locality. We are apt to lose sight of the fact that the Roman occupation of the country extended over several centuries, and that therefore we may look for many changes in the fashion of the objects of every day life, but we are not aware of any systematic investigations having been carried on with a view to illustrate this point. Opportunities, such as will probably not recur, have been allowed to pass away. We have, however, got sufficient evidence to shew that this line of enquiry promises well.

First, as to the date of the pit. The Roman bricks built into the walls shew that it is not pre-Roman, and the rubbish cannot have been thrown into it earlier than the dates of the latest of the following coins, of which the first two were found by Mr Jenkinson, the third by Mr Digues La Touche, and the fourth by one of the workmen in our presence.

1. 2nd brass of Magnentius (A.D. 350—353).
2. 3rd brass of Valentinianus (A.D. 364—375).
3. Billon, Victorinus (A.D. 265).
4. A 1st brass, with a Roman head, legend worn out.

Among the bones we recognised the following animals:

Ox (*Bos longifrons*). It is interesting to note that among the large number of bones of ox which have been found with Roman remains in the neighbourhood of Cambridge, we have yet found no evidence of *Bos primigenius*, although it occurred commonly in the fens in neolithic times. The horn-cores show considerable variation, beyond what might be attributed to difference of age and sex, and would suggest domestication. How easily the horn-core is modified will be understood by those who remember that the Galloway polled cattle dropped their horns in obedience to artificial selection in about half a century, the core going first.

Horse. The bones of the horse are broken, and occur scattered among the other bones, as if it had been used for food. It is a small breed. Possibly the ass is also represented.

Sheep. A small breed with horns like those of Welsh ewes. Whether the rams had curled horns we have no evidence to show.

Red deer. We have no evidence of the red deer having been used for food. We have recognised only portions of the antler, some of which seem to have been fashioned into instruments of various kinds.

Pig. Of various sizes, and probably all domesticated.

Dog. There are two breeds, which fairly represent forms pictured in relief on some Roman ware. A small strongish-jawed animal like a fox terrier, and a larger animal with a jaw between that of a wolf and a greyhound, but considerably smaller. There were also some bones of puppies or fox-cubs.

Cat. We have found the remains of two cats, but Prof. Boyd Dawkins has not been able to tell us whether wild or domestic. The domestic cat, well known in Egypt, is said to have been long kept by the Romans, but we believe there is no clear evidence of its introduction by them into this country. Of the marten cat we have never found any trace with Roman remains.

Poultry. The common fowl. Often with spurs, as we have found in many other Roman rubbish pits. Duck. Rare.

We have carefully preserved all the fragments of pottery in the hope that by recording all the varieties that occur at the different stations we may get some clue to the history of the progress of Roman occupation of the district.

The pottery may be grouped under many heads, but a full description of it and of the potter's marks we reserve for a future occasion.

There was a large coarse ware including *amphorae* and a multitude of smaller vessels, and a large thick-rimmed open-mouthed vessel often ornamented with fine lines. We have never seen an ornamented amphora.

There was a great variety of rough red or black or grey vessels, plain or with horizontal lines on the shoulder, probably a local ware.

Fragments of a fine close-textured black or grey ware were found, sometimes ornamented with lines traced on the unbaked clay. Perhaps this may have been imported from Upchurch, or imitated from Upchurch ware.

Very beautiful specimens of *Durobrivian* pottery occurred all through with floral devices and hunting scenes in relief.

Drinking cups with pinched-in sides and sometimes a metallic lustre and sometimes a pattern in relief were not uncommon.

There were several mortaria, some of them with the potter's mark stamped on the rim.

Of Samian ware none but a few plain cups and dishes are complete, or nearly so; but we have restored nearly half of a fine bowl with a pattern of vine leaves and birds beneath the usual loop and tassel border. Scattered

fragments exhibit figures of a lion, a boar, etc. Potters' names occur on all the plain ware.

Some fragments of yellow ware with coloured bands and lines suggest commerce with the islands of the Mediterranean.

Bricks and tiles. There were fragments of Roman bricks and flanged tiles built into the walls of the kiln or rarely scattered through the earth in the kiln and other pits at Chesterford. These would not form part of ordinary household rubbish; but it seemed to be the custom to cover the layers of bones and rejected portions of animals with earth and sand, and some of the curious and unexpected objects which occurred in the kiln may have been thrown in with this earth. We learn however that the *débris* of destroyed houses was lying about: whether they pulled down old buildings and erected better, or whether fire or sword had swept through the Romanized village, who can now tell? It seems probable that the village was extending in the direction of the kiln, for we found a human jaw thrown in with one of the layers of earth. This we explain on the supposition that the pits and kiln were dug on ground where, at an earlier period, interments had taken place.

Among the miscellaneous objects found we may enumerate,

A bone comb.

A bronze *ligula*.

A bronze bracelet.

Perforated discs of lead.

do. do. of pottery formed by chipping fragments of the flatter portions of broken vessels.

Unperforated discs of pottery.

Bone pins, perhaps for fastening the dress or hair.

Hones.

A roughly cut chalk box.

Fragments of glass, some highly ornamented.

A spindle-whorl.

Nails and charred wood and many small objects of unknown use.

We hope on a future occasion to offer a fuller report with illustrations of the pottery and various objects found in this and other Roman stations in the neighbourhood of Cambridge.

March 1, 1880. Professor Hughes, F.S.A., President, in the chair.

The following new Members were elected:

R. V. Arnold, Esq., B.A., Trinity College.

W. W. R. Ball, Esq., M.A., Trinity College.

J. A. Bennion, Esq., B.A., Corpus Christi College.

J. Cox, Esq., M.A., Warden of Cavendish College.

R. T. Glazebrook, Esq., M.A., Trinity College.
N. Goodman, Esq., M.A., Peterhouse.
W. P. Spalding, Esq., Sidney Street.

Mr Witt exhibited and kindly presented to the Society two upper mill-stones of a conglomerate belonging to the Lower Tertiary known as "Hertfordshire Pudding-stone;" they were found at Lakenheath about thirty years ago. Also a pair of horns of *bos primigenius* from Swaffham Prior.

Mr H. Phillips, of Philadelphia, presented nine barbed arrow-heads, some of them of the broad, some of the lanceolate type, consisting of flint, chert, and two varieties of silicio-felspathic rock, probably ancient lava; they had been all found in Pennsylvania.

Dr Raven presented two "third brass" coins found in 1879 at Bartlow: (1) Tetricus, rev. VIRTVS AVG, (2) Victorinus, rev. illegible.

A paper by Mr Walker was read on twelve specimens of South American pottery, which he exhibited and kindly presented to the Society; they were from the Tombs of the Incas, and from the history of the country could be approximately dated at from 1450 to 1520 A.D. One of the vessels appeared capable of being used as a musical instrument; two others were in the form of birds. Mr Lewis exhibited two terra-cotta vessels, of remarkable similarity in shape, which had been sent to him from Cyprus in 1872.

Mr Lewis exhibited also a rare groat of Perkin Warbeck engraved below: it was probably struck by Margaret of York, Dowager Duchess of

Burgundy, and bears on the obverse the Royal Shield—France modern quartering England—ensigned with a four-arched crown; on the dexter side a crowned fleur-de-lis, on the sinister a crowned rose: legend

DOMINA SALVVM FAC REGEM

the reverse bears a quatrefoil enclosing a Royal crown above a fleur-de-lis of France and a lion of England; in the base is a rose: legend

MANI TECHEL PHARES 1494

Mr Latham, of Trinity Hall, read an extract from the Trinity Hall MS. known as "Warren's Book," in which was recorded the discovery "about the year 1711 of several *paterae*, urns, and other Roman Antiquities," in a gravel-pit "on the right-hand side of the road, as we go from Cambridge to Trumpington, about a quarter of a mile off from the one-mile-stone, and not far from the willow-trees by the ditch and from the river."

Mr Latham pointed out the position of the ground known as *Dam Hill*, on which these remains were found, and explained the name by referring it to a dam, which he thought formerly existed between the river and the margin of the rising ground south-west of Bland's farm.

The description shews that the paterae were of Samian ware. The potter's marks are given, viz. OFLICINI OFNIRRAI MSCLERIS and DAMONI. In the last the writer of the book thought he saw an explanation of the name of the locality.

Professor Hughes and Mr Jenkinson communicated the results of their investigations carried on with the kind permission of the Master during excavations recently made for the foundations of new buildings in the Garden of Trinity Hall.

They first drew attention to the various localities on the east of the river Cam, where Roman remains had been discovered, shewing that there was evidence of almost continuous occupation from opposite the station at Grantchester to opposite the station on Castle Hill.

They then quoted from MSS. in the Archives of Trinity Hall extracts which recorded that the area over which the excavations had been made, which had previously to A.D. 1545 been a *laystowe* or *laystall* (*i.e.* a place where rubbish was deposited), was then made over to the College by the town and Michael House, and walled in. In 1569 a further enclosure was made, and in 1690 and 1726 mulberry trees were planted. They thought that the ground was probably levelled and portions of the surface-layers disturbed at these several dates.

The authors then went on to explain by reference to a diagram-section the arrangement of the deposits passed through in digging the foundations of the new buildings, which were as follows:

a. Garden soil and recent *débris*, 1—2½ ft.

b. Earth containing bones, pottery, &c., referred to a period dating back from the 17th century to earlier mediæval times, 2½—3½ ft.

c. Pits with black earth, bones, pottery, &c., of Roman age—of irregular depth; some were bottomed at about 10 ft. from the surface.

d. Low river-terrace gravel.

In (*b*) some pottery had been identified as of the age of the Commonwealth, and some as Elizabethan. Some bone objects exhibited were supposed to have been used for games.

In (*c*), the Roman pits, there were the usual layers of oyster shells, mussels, the bones of animals that had been used for food, and broken pottery.

There were many fragments of a dark ware, differing in form from the commoner types found at Chesterford, and a few bits of Samian ware. One of these was a small saucer with the simple pointed leaf pattern around the margin. Another was a piece of a handsome basin with a winged figure and part of a hunting scene in relief. A nearly perfect mortarium and some bits of glass were also found. There were various iron objects, among which the most interesting was a curved knife with a notch on the back.

Owing to the difficulty of procuring room for laying out and comparing the fragments, they had been unable to restore many of the vessels.

Mr Cordeaux exhibited a bronze spear-head found last year at Walton-on-Thames and three coins which had been found at Caistor in Lincolnshire, one certainly of Saxon workmanship, and a copy of the issue of Constantius, known generally as "the horseman type;" it would be hard to classify the other two, either as of Saxon or Romano-British design. All that can be said is that they are barbarian copies of some Roman issue, one bearing on the obverse a head with a rayed crown, which on the later Roman brass almost supplanted the bay wreath.

Mr Wortham exhibited a volume of Churchwardens' accounts from Bassingbourn (exhibited previously by Mr Lumby, Feb. 24 and May 4, 1868), which he described as follows:

In the vestry at Bassingbourn, a parish about 13 miles from Cambridge, there is, for a parish church, a large and interesting Library. Among the books therein contained is the Book of the Churchwardens accounts, extending from 1498 to 1540. The Book itself is in good preservation, most of it well written, and legible. It contains an inventory of the furniture, Vestments, &c., commonly used for Divine Service in 1498 the year in which most of the inventory was made; and besides this the accounts for money received and expended, during the 40 years which the book covers.

The inventory of the Church furniture contains many curious and unusual words. A *cowcher* is mentioned; and this, from another part of the book, we find is the same thing as an *Antiphonar*. Professor Skeat very kindly wrote me a most interesting letter in answer to my queries as to what a cowcher meant, and he explained it to be a large book "that was always left couched or lying down in its place, not portable like the porthors or breviary. Perhaps it was identical with the *Ligger*, *i.e.* lier down, a book too big to be carried. In modern days the big book in a merchant's office is called a ledger, *i.e.* a ligger or lying down book from its size." The word *quayere* occurs in the expression "in quayeres for the Masse of

Jhesu." 'Bolsteres' "Itm one Epistoll book...with two Bolsteres of lateyne." A hallowed and an unhallowed superaltar is also referred to: and 'the Table standing on the Altar,' which according to Parker in his glossary of Architecture is equivalent to Reredos. An item in the inventory is 'ij smalle capis for Chylder of red sylke:' and one of the books belonging to the church appears to have been 'the bybull.'

By far the larger part of the book is taken up with the parish accounts. This consists of 140 pages of receipts and payments kept by the churchwardens from year to year. We find recorded in them the names of many persons belonging to families who flourished in the parish and neighbourhood in the 16th century. Among these the name Bolnest frequently occurs (some members of which were benefactors to the church as recorded in the inventory); 'Itm j chalys the gyft of Robt. Bolnest;' Turpin; Lynne, a family afterwards connected with the Cromwells, Oliver's mother being a widow of one of the Lynnes. Chichely of Wimpole is mentioned. "Mr Harre Chychely," who was great-nephew of the Archbishop and grandson of Sir Robert Chichely, twice Lord Mayor of London.

From the accounts we find considerable information as to the price of labour and materials. A man was paid 11*d.* for '3 days dryssing the church wall:' a bricklayer and his man were paid at the rate of 1*s.* a day for building the church wall; his 'server' was paid 2*s.* 8*d.* for 8 days work, and 'his boy,' was paid 12*d.* for 4 days wages. Besides this they are allowed 7*s.* for their board. Land, on the other hand, appears to have been comparatively cheap; letting for only 10*d.* an acre, an amount far below the proportionate value of land in the parish of Bassingbourn at the present time.

There is a curious article mentioned in this portion of the book called 'a tryndull' 'rec' of the gathering among the wyffes to the tryndull,' and in another place '12 lb. of wax bought for the tryndall.' Was this a wheel-shaped stand to hold tapers for burning before the images? There are also one or two items referring to the repair of the 'Organs.'

One whole page is devoted to an account of the expenses connected with an image of St George, which appears to have been made at Walden. The maker of the image was paid £10. 13*s.* 4*d.*, and the painter received 30*s.* The carriage to Bassingbourn and incidental expenses appears to have come to 10*s.* 7*d.*

The most interesting part of the book, however, is that referring to the mystery play which was 'had on St Margarets day A.D. 1511, of the holy martir Seynt George...in bassingbourn west end.' A list is given of 27 neighbouring parishes, which contributed towards the play sums varying from 5*s.* to 6*d.* The play appears to have been held in a field in the West End of Bassingbourn, that part of the parish towards Litlington; since "Giles Ashewell paid 12*d.* for 'easement of his croft to play in.'" The car-

penter John Good received 16*d.* for 'workmanshippe of falchons and tormentoures,' and a certain John Bocher was paid 16*s.* for painting the falchons, tormenteres and axes. The item for fitting the Dragon, and expenses of carriage came to 8*d.*

May 10, 1880. Professor Hughes, F.S.A., President, in the chair.

The following new Members were elected:

C. Bidwell, Esq., M.A. (Trinity College), Ely.
Captain P. Going, R.N., Traverston Lodge.
Rev. C. S. Harris, M.A., Mepal Rectory.
Rev. H. Latham, M.A., Trinity Hall.
G. Parker, Esq., M.A., St John's College.
F. W. Payne, Esq., Trinity Hall.
J. S. Reid, Esq., M.L., Caius College.
T. M. Vipan, Esq., Sutton House, Isle of Ely.

A Paper by Mr C. W. King was read upon an agate-onyx cameo (of which a photograph to size was exhibited), remarkable alike for its unusual size (6 in. × 4 in.), the beauty of its engraving, and the interesting subject which it represents. (See Communications, Vol. IV., No. XXVIII.)

Mr Wace exhibited a rubbing of an incised slab in the Dutch language in the nave of St Mary's Church, Haddiscoe, on which he remarked as follows:

The slab of which a rubbing is shewn is not referred to in any work on the subject, or in Blomefield's History of Norfolk. The number of brasses or slabs in this country in memory of foreigners is not large, and of these very few are in the vernacular. This is in Dutch, and appears to read, as has been suggested by Professor Skeat, "Hier liit begravē Barbele Ians Pier Piers dē Diickgrave wiif, &c., *i.e.*, Here lies buried Barbele Ians wife of Pier Piers the Dykegrave, died anno 1525, the 2d day of December." In the centre is a shield suspended: the arms (or merchants' marks) are not clear. Some of the words also are not very distinct. The *dykegrave* was thus probably one of the overseers of the embankment in the marshes of the district.

A rubbing was also shewn of an inscription of a much mutilated brass in the adjoining church of Toft Monks, which reads: "Orate *pro* animabus Iacobi Wadby et Mabelle *con*fortis fue *que* obiit a° d' M° CCCC L XXX IIII."

Professor Hughes and Mr Jenkinson described the results of further excavations in the gravel pit near the kiln at Great Chesterford, and also in the Rev. Lord Charles Hervey's grounds, by whose kind permission they were enabled to excavate some interesting pits on the south side of the road.

They find that there is a considerable difference in the group of pottery in the different pits, but the variation is such as to suggest that they were the rubbish pits of households of different wealth and position rather than that they belonged to different periods. In the pits near the kiln coarse kitchen-ware predominated; in the pits in Lord Charles Hervey's grounds there were more ornamented vessels of the kind usually known as drinking cups.

In one pit they found what seemed to be the *débris* of a house which had been destroyed by fire. At the bottom there was, as is commonly the case, a layer of sand, in and on which were bones, oysters and broken pottery. But after some two feet or so of this had accumulated the fire seems to have taken place, and the charred wood, the scorched plaster, and the fire-reddened clay was swept up and filled the rest of the pit to a depth of about seven feet.

From these fragments we learn that the house, or that part of it which we have here the remains, was made of a not very stout wattle, on which a mixture of clay, sand and straw or rough grass was laid, and the whole plastered over with a fine mortar. This was painted red, probably in large panels with surrounding bands of white; of all of which specimens were exhibited.

A door or large chest covered with strong crossbars of iron seems to have perished in the flames. The iron, much rusted, was found with portions of charred wood attached.

Mr Magnússon offered some remarks upon a *littera fraternitatis concessa* Wytfrido Juarii *filio de Insula de Ysland.* (See Communications, Vol. IV., No. XXX.)

May 24, 1880. Professor Hughes, F.S.A., President, in the chair.

The following new Members were elected:

G. F. Cobb, Esq., M.A., Trinity College.
Rev. W. M. Gunson, M.A., Christ's College.
Rev. A. F. Kirkpatrick, M.A., Trinity College.
G. H. Rendall, Esq., M.A., Trinity College.

The following officers were elected for next year:

President.

Professor T. McK. Hughes, M.A.

Vice-President.

J. W. Clark, Esq., M.A.

Auditors.

Rev. J. B. Pearson, D.D.
F. C. Wace, Esq., M.A.

New Members of Council.

Professor C. C. Babington, M.A., F.R.S.
Rev. R. Burn, M.A.
F. Whitting, Esq., M.A.

Mr Fawcett and Mr Lewis were re-elected to the offices of Treasurer and Secretary respectively.

The Annual Report (see pages iii, iv) mentioned successful excavations by members of this Society at Great Chesterford and Barrington, and promised the issue of several books during the coming year.

Professor Hughes made the following remarks upon the present manufacture of pottery in the Pyrenees:

We have not many descriptions of the mode of manufacture of pottery among rude tribes or people where primitive modes are still kept up, and yet it is from such observations alone that we can hope to obtain any satisfactory evidence as to the conditions which we may infer prevailed among the makers of the primeval pottery we find in caves, in graves, or refuse heaps.

One such case I had an opportunity of examining with Sir Charles Lyell under the guidance of M. Vausennat some years ago.

At Ordizan, near Bagnères de Bigorre in the Pyrenees, there is a clay derived from the subaërial decomposition of various igneous and metamorphic rocks, which has been found by experience to be especially adapted for making pottery. The process is very simple. The clay is kneaded in small quantities at a time, and the potter, generally a woman, sets herself down by a lump of it, having in front of her a round piece of wood about 18 inches across, fastened by V-shaped braces to a peg which turns in a heavy wooden stand. A piece of clay is placed on this round moveable table, and while the table is turned with the left hand the clay is moulded with the right. Lump after lump is added, and the whole worked into form with the fingers, a simple wooden scraper about six inches long, and a wet rag. A hole about six feet across and two feet deep is dug in the ground. The vessels having been allowed to dry and harden in the air for a time are packed in dry fern in this hole, each vessel being also filled with fern. They are thus built up into a beehive-shaped mass rising about four feet above the ground, and the whole is covered with sods, leaving openings for draught here and there. The fern is fired, and when the fire is burnt out the vessels are finished.

In this way vessels resembling exactly those found in the caves and dolmens are now manufactured and used in the Pyrenees. The additions are made in lumps, and therefore when a spiral is seen, it is due to the fingers being withdrawn from the centre as the table is turned by the hand, and does not indicate the clay coil method described by Mr Hartt as so common in Brazil and the rest of South America.

Mr Neville Goodman exhibited and described some Burial Urns found near the mouth of the River Amazon. (See Communications, Vol. IV., No. XXXI.)

Mr Jenkinson exhibited four British coins, one of *Tinc(ommius)* from Farnham, and three of *Verica* (his brother) from near Alton.

1. Obv. TINC in an oblong tablet. Rev. A horseman.

2 and 3. Obv. a leaf; across it VIRI [the other (V)ERI].
Rev. A horseman with shield and (?) spear CO . F (in one the F retrograde).

4. Obv. COM·F

Rev. A horseman as in (2) and (3); above VIR, below REX.

Mr Griffith exhibited two urns from Peru, from the Tombs of the Incas, of similar pottery, and with coatings of fine clay, of red and light yellowish colour, exactly similar in this respect to those exhibited by Mr Goodman; they also had the human figure, in one case with the hands and arms held in the same position as on his, in the other with just a human face as it were carved on the stem of the Mandiora, the roots representing the body and legs. He suggested that the key pattern might have arisen from a repetition of lines representing in a conventional way the eyes, eyebrows and nose, comparing the Anglo-Saxon ornament springing from the same origin, passing through the Y (upsilon) on their coins and culminating in the Fleur-de-lis.

Mr Griffith exhibited a perforated flat sandstone pebble, lately found at Ditton, with two worked tynes of red deer. A number of Roman remains are found in the same spot, but these are apparently confined to holes filled with black earth, 'ash-pits,' which were dug into the clunchy soil underneath the surface soil. These three specimens, however, came from this clunchy soil, where it had not been disturbed, and were probably pre-Roman. The stone might have been used as a net-weight.

The President communicated the following letter, dated May 14, 1880, which he had received from Mr William White of Trinity College Library, respecting the Roman kiln at Great Chesterford (see above, pp. xvi and xxiv):

"In your Paper read before the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, on the 16th of February last, I understood you to state that the kiln in which the various objects you exhibited had been found, was a kiln used for burning or baking pottery. Pardon me if I presume to differ in opinion from you, and to suggest that the shape of your kiln is such that it would be impossible to load it with anything that would require careful handling; for the weight of things in the upper part of the kiln would crush those in

the lower. Again, how could it be loaded? Where could a man stand to do it? He could not reach down a depth of six feet or more.

Now, for the purpose for which I believe it was used, it is the correct shape, namely, for the burning of lime. A lime-kiln is loaded in the following manner: a fire is kindled at the bottom, and a layer of lime is put on the fire; on the top of that is placed a layer of cinders and small coals, when these are well burned, another layer of lime, and so on, until filled. The lime at the bottom being ready first, is raked out through a small doorway near to the bottom, when the whole mass, from the shape of the kiln, easily slips down; and more coals and lime are added at the top.

Now I find that potter's kilns were of a very different form. One was discovered in 1815, by Mr Layton, at Caistor, near Norwich, of which a sketch is given in Vol. XXII. of the *Archaeologia*. Another was found by the Hon. R. C. Neville in a field called Oak Field, in the parish of Ashdon. I think that Mr Neville speaks doubtfully as to its use, when he says, "The building, which appeared to have been a kiln, used by the Romans for the burning of pottery, or more probably of bricks, stood," &c. The fact seems to me to be that Mr Neville had only discovered the flues of a kiln, and not the kiln itself. The accompanying sketch of this "kiln" is as given by Mr Neville in the 10th volume of the *Archæological Journal*. (See fig. 1.)

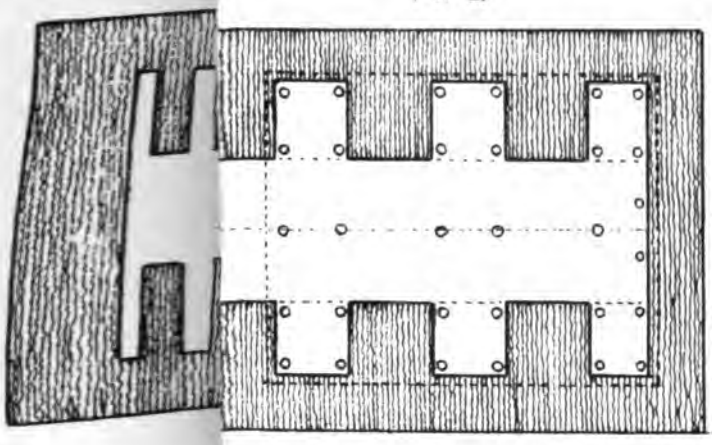
Now we will look at a potter's kiln, found by Mr George Joslin at Colchester: here you find the kiln built on the top of the flues, which are very similar to those discovered by Mr Neville. I have crept into these flues, (see fig. 2) and found the top of them vitrified by the intense heat, as shewn in the specimen before you. The top of these flues formed the bottom of the kiln, upon which the pottery was placed. It was pierced with a number of holes (see fig. 3) to allow the heat to pass more freely into the kiln. When loaded it was arched over with clay, which appears to have been removed, wholly or in part, when the vessels were sufficiently baked. There was a pit near the furnace where the potters threw their broken or spoilt vessels. Amongst the Roman remains at Castor in Northamptonshire, a round kiln was found with the bottom perforated in a similar manner to the one named above. This is figured in plate XL. of Mr Artis' *Durobrivæ of Antoninus, Identified and Illustrated.*"

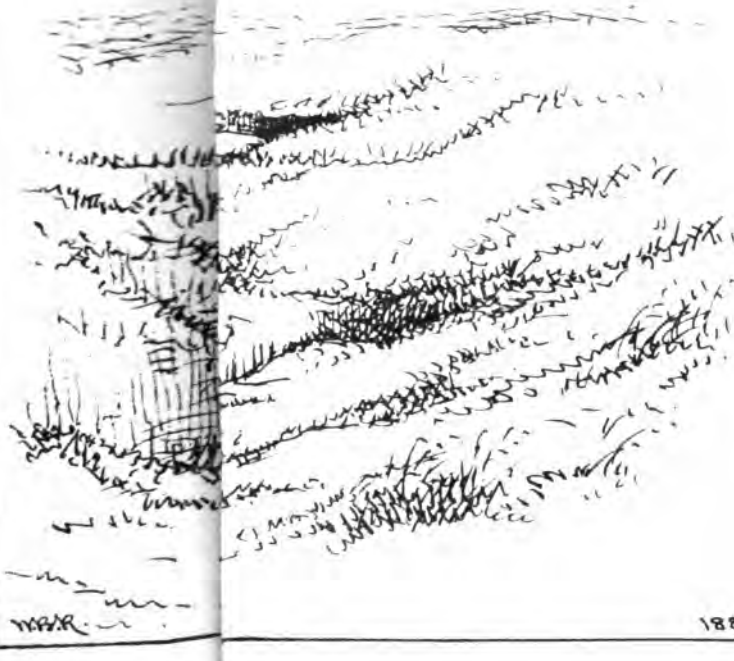
Mr White commented on some Roman graves discovered at Hunstanton in September 1879. (See Communications, Vol. IV., No. XXXII.)

Mr Redfarn exhibited an ancient tally-board, on which he made the following remarks:

In older times the tally, in some form or other, must have been in daily use in nearly every household, and even at this time, although almost a thing of the past, the tally-board may occasionally be found in use for keeping a milk score, or a reckoning at a village alehouse. In the second part of the play of "King Henry VI.," scene 7, *Jack Cade* says, "Our fore-

FIG. 2.





1881.

TER.

Drawn about one fifth the size of original

Camb. Ant Soc. ~~Comm. Vol. IV.~~
Proc. 1879—80.

1880.

NEWELL & ANASTATIC PRESS IPSWICH

CARVED OAK TALLY BOARD IN THE COLLECTION OF MR W. B. REDFARN.

fathers had no other books but the score and the tally," and in sonnet 122 line 10, Shakespeare writes, "Nor need I tallies thy dear love to score."

The tally-board exhibited is probably a late 16th or early 17th century tally, of dark oak, carved in relief and divided into small panels, each of which contains a representation of a peacock, a hooded-falcon, a swan or some other bird; the lower part of the board is formed as a shield, which has carved upon its face two other smaller shields suspended from a hunting-horn. One of these shields bears the arms of the Lucy family, the other, what appears to be, the arms of the city of Amsterdam.

The subjects of the carving give rise to the supposition that this tally-board may have been used for keeping a record of the game supply at some house of importance; the reckoning or score would be kept on the back of the board, which is quite plain and smooth.

It measures 31 inches in length, 6½ in. wide, and about half-an-inch in thickness, and is in very perfect preservation.

The tally-board is in the collection of Mr Redfarn.

Mr Lewis observed that the use of the tally in keeping the accounts of the nation is fully described by Sir John Lubbock in an article on Money in *The Nineteenth Century* for November, 1879.

LAWS.

I. THAT the Society be for the encouragement of the study of History, Architecture, and Antiquities; and that such Society be called "THE CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY."

II. That the object of the Society be to collect and to print information relative to the above-mentioned subjects.

III. That the subscription of each Member of the Society be *One Guinea* annually; such subscription be due on the first day of January in each year: on the payment of which he shall become entitled to all the Publications of the Society, during the current year.

IV. That any person who is desirous of becoming a Member of the Society, be proposed by two Members at any of the ordinary Meetings of the Society, and ballotted for at the next Meeting: but all Noblemen, Bishops, and Heads of Colleges, shall be ballotted for at the Meeting at which they are proposed.

V. That the management of the affairs of the Society be vested in a Council, consisting of a President, (who shall not be eligible for that office for more than two successive years,) three Vice-Presidents (of whom the Senior shall retire at each annual meeting and be ineligible for re-election during the next two years), a Treasurer, a Secretary, and not more than twelve nor less than seven other Members, to be elected from amongst the Members of the Society who are graduates of the University. Each Member of the Council shall have due notice of the Meetings of that body, at which not less than five shall constitute a quorum.

VI. That the President, one Vice-President, the Treasurer, and the Secretary, and at least three ordinary Members of the Council shall be elected annually by ballot, at a General Meeting to be held in the month of May; the three senior ordinary Members of the Council to retire annually.

VII. That no Member be entitled to vote at any General Meeting whose subscription is in arrear.

VIII. That, in the absence of the President, the Council at their Meetings shall elect a Chairman, such Chairman having a casting-vote in case of equality of numbers, and retaining also his right to vote upon all questions submitted to the Council.

IX. That the accounts of the receipts and expenditure of the Society be audited annually by two auditors, to be elected at the Annual General Meeting; and that an abstract of such accounts be printed for the use of the Members.

X. That the object of the usual Meetings of the Society be, to read communications, acknowledge presents, and transact miscellaneous business.

XI. That the Meetings of the Society take place once at least during each term: and that the place of meeting and all other arrangements, not specified in the Laws, be left to the discretion of the Council.

XII. That any member be allowed to compound for his future subscriptions by one payment of *Ten Guineas*.

XIII. That Members of the Society be allowed to propose Honorary Members, provided that no person so proposed be either resident within the County of Cambridge, or a member of the University.

XIV. That Honorary Members be proposed by at least two Members of the Society, at any of the usual Meetings of the Society, and ballotted for at the next Meeting.

XV. That nothing shall be published by the Society, which has not been previously approved by the Council nor without the author's name being appended to it.

XVI. That no alteration be made in these Laws, except at the Annual General Meeting or at a special General Meeting called for that purpose, of which at least one week's notice shall be given to all the Members; and that one month's notice of any proposed alteration be communicated, in writing, to the Secretary, in order that he may make the same known to all the Members of the Society.

It is requested that all Communications intended for the Society, and the names of Candidates for admission, be forwarded to the Secretary, or to the Treasurer, 1, *Silver Street, Cambridge.*

Subscriptions received by the Treasurer, or by his Bankers, Messrs Mortlock and Co., Cambridge; or at the Bank of Messrs Smith, Payne, and Smith, London, "To the Cambridge Antiquarian Society's account with Messrs Mortlock and Co., Cambridge."

SOCIETIES IN UNION

FOR THE INTERCHANGE OF PUBLICATIONS, &c.

1. The Society of Antiquaries of London. C. K. WATSON, Esq., M.A., *Secretary*, Burlington House, London, W.
2. The Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. A. Hartshorne, Esq., *Secretary*, 16, New Burlington Street, London, W.
3. The Oxford Architectural and Historical Society. F. S. PULLING, Esq., M.A., *Hon. Secretary*, 69, Walton Street, Oxford.
4. The Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society. R. Fitch, Esq., F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, Norwich.
5. The Suffolk Institute of Archæology. S. J. HARRISON, Esq., *Hon. Secretary*, Bury St Edmund's.
6. The Essex Archæological Society. H. W. KING, Esq., *Hon. Secretary*, Leigh Hill, Leigh, Essex.
7. The Kent Archæological Society. Rev. Canon W. A. Scott Robertson, M.A., *Hon. Secretary*, Whitehall, Sittingbourne.
8. The Sussex Archæological Society. R. CROSSKEY, Esq., *Hon. Librarian*, Lewes.
9. The Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society. P. B. HAYWARD, Esq., *Curator*, Cathedral Yard, Exeter.
10. The Leicestershire Architectural and Archæological Society. W. F. FREER, Esq., *Hon. Secretary*, Stonygate, Leicester.
11. The Associated Architectural Societies of Lincoln, York, Bedford, Leicester, &c. Rev. Canon G. T. HARVEY, *General Secretary*, Vicar's Court, Lincoln.
12. The Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire. C. T. Gatty, Esq., *Hon. Secretary*, 18, Pelham Grove, Sefton Park, Liverpool.
13. The Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. W. DODD, Esq., *Curator*, 5, Bigg Market, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
14. The Cambrian Archæological Society. Rev. E. L. BARNWELL, M.A., *Treasurer*, Melksham, Wilts.

15. The Powys-Land Club. M. C. JONES, Esq., F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, Gungrog, Welshpool.
16. The Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland. Rev. J. GRAVES, A.B., *Hon. Secretary*, Inisnag, Stonyford, Co. Kilkenny.
17. La Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France. M. E. NICARD, *Archiviste*, Musée de Louvre, Paris.
18. The Norwegian Archæological Society. Antikvar N. NICOLAYSEN, *Sekretær*, Kristiania.
19. The Royal University of Christiania. Mr. C. HOLST, *Director of the Foreign Literary Exchange of Norway.*
20. The Commission Impériale Archéologique of Russia. M. le Comte Serge STROGANOFF, *President*, St Petersburg.
21. Ἡ ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἑταιρία. Mr. ET. A. COUMANOUDIS, γραμματεύς, Athens.
22. The Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A. F. W. PUTNAM, Esq., *Curator.*
23. The Smithsonian Institution, Washington, U.S.A. SPENCER F. BAIRD, Esq., *Secretary.*
24. The Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia. H. PHILLIPS, Jun., Esq., Ph.D., *Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer*, 304, South Eleventh Street, Philadelphia, Pa. U.S.A.

CONTENTS OF REPORT AND PROCEEDINGS.

	PAGE
Report, May 24, 1880	iii
Summary of Accounts, Christmas, 1879	v
Council, May 24, 1880	vi
List of Presents, 1879—80	vii
Abstract of Proceedings, 1879—80 (with two Plates)	xi
Laws	xxx
List of Societies in union	xxxii

LIST OF PLATES.

Roman Potters' Kilns, found at Ashdon and at Colchester (double Plate)	to follow xxviii
Carved oak tally board in the collection of Mr W. B. Redfarn	to face xxix

CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN COMMUNICATIONS.

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CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN COMMUNICATIONS:

BEING

PAPERS PRESENTED AT THE MEETINGS

OF THE

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VOL. IV.

1876—1880.

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CONTENTS.

1876—1877.

		PAGE
I.	On a Fresco in Chesterton Church. Communicated by T. H. Naylor, Esq., M.A. (With a photograph.)	3
II.	A Draft of a Letter by John Gerard, with comments by B. D. Jackson, Esq., F.L.S. Communicated by C. C. Babington, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., Professor of Botany	7
III.	On a Shekel of the Year 5. Communicated by the Rev. S. S. Lewis, M.A., F.S.A., Corpus Christi College . . .	9
IV.	On some Pre-historic Peruvian Stone Implements. Communicated by A. J. Duffield, Esq. (With a lithograph.) . .	13
V.	On an Early Runic Calendar found in Lapland in 1866. Communicated by E. Magnússon, Esq., M.A., Trinity College. (With a photograph and six full-page wood-cuts.) . . .	17
	The Calendar printed in full	57
VI.	On some Recent Discoveries in Grantchester Church. Communicated by the Rev. F. G. Howard, M.A., Trinity College .	63
VII.	On an Antique Statuette representing "Spes Vetus." Communicated by the Rev. C. W. King, M.A., Trinity College. (With two lithographs.)	67

1877—1878.

VIII.	On the Flint Implements found at Helwan near Cairo, by A. J. Jukes-Browne, Esq., B.A., F.G.S. Communicated by T. M'K. Hughes, Esq., M.A, Woodwardian Professor of Geology. (With a plate of lithographs and a map.)	85
IX.	On some Ancient Court Rolls of the Manor of Littleport in the Isle of Ely. Communicated by W. Marshall, Esq. . .	97
X.	On Coining, and the Implements of Coining. Communicated by J. D. Robertson, Esq., Trinity College	109

PAGE

XI. Description of a Norwegian Calendar. Communicated by E. Magnússon, Esq., M.A., Trinity College. (With a photograph and six full-page wood-cuts.) 129

The Calendar printed in full 170

XII. On a Flint Implement found at Barnwell. Communicated by A. F. Griffith, Esq., Christ's College. (With two plates of lithographs.) 177

XIII. Notice of a Ring found at Montpensier, and supposed to have belonged to the Black Prince. Communicated by Edw. Hailstone, Esq., Jun. 181

1878—1879.

XIV. Description of a Mediæval Merchant's Mark, and some Remarks upon Seals of the same period. Communicated by Reginald Dutton, Esq., Trinity College 187

XV. On an Ancient Canoe found imbedded in the Fen-Peat near Magdalen Bend, on the River Ouse, in the County of Norfolk. Communicated by W. Marshall, Esq., of Ely . . . 195

XVI. On the Maces of the Esquire Bedells, and the Mace formerly borne by the Yeoman Bedell. Communicated by A. P. Humphry, Esq., M.A., Trinity College. (With one Plate.) . 207

XVII. Description of an Old Wooden Tankard. Communicated by Dr G. Mackenzie Bacon, M.A. 219

XVIII. History of the Peal of Bells belonging to King's College, Cambridge. Communicated by J. W. Clark, Esq., M.A., Trinity College. (With one Plate.) 223

XIX. Notes upon Discoveries made during the recent restoration of Landbeach Church, by the Rev. Bryan Walker, LL.D., Rector. (With two Plates.) 245

XX. On the Table of Distances between different Towns given by Holinshed in his description of England. Communicated by the Rev. J. B. Pearson, D.D., Emmanuel College . . . 259

Note 1. On the present English statute mile; and on the smaller measures of length 267

Note 2. On the Milestones on the road from Cambridge to London 268

PAGE

XXI. On "La Maison Plantin" at Antwerp. Communicated by J. E. Foster, Esq., M.A., Trinity College 271

XXII. On nine Roman signets lately found in the lead-mines of Charterhouse on Mendip. By the Rev. S. S. Lewis, M.A., Corpus Christi College 277

XXIII. On the Old Provost's Lodge of King's College, with special reference to the Furniture. Communicated by J. W. Clark, Esq., M.A., Trinity College. (With one full-page ground-plan.) 285

List of the most uncommon words occurring in the accounts . 310

1879—1880.

XXIV. Notes on the past History of the Church of Holy Trinity, Cambridge. Communicated by the Rev. J. Barton, M.A., Vicar. (With three plates.) 313

Note A. On the Light of St Erasmus, and on the various spellings of his name in the Trinity Parish Accounts. By Henry Bradshaw, M.A., University Librarian . . . 327

Note B. The Gallery Account, and the Faculty for building it, in Trinity Church, 1616—17 331

XXV. Description of an Inscribed Vase, lately found at Guilden Morden, Cambridgeshire. Communicated by the Rev. S. S. Lewis, M.A., Corpus Christi College. (With one plate.) . 337

XXVI. History of the Church of S. John Baptist, Cambridge; commonly called S. John Zachary. Communicated by J. W. Clark, Esq., M.A., Trinity College. (With one plate.) . 343

Appendix of original documents, 1444—1453, relating to the parishes of S. Edward and S. John the Baptist, and the Church of S. John, from Trinity Hall Muniment-Room and elsewhere 358

XXVII. On Eight Swords. Communicated by W. Wareing Faulder, Esq., Downing College. (With one plate.) 377

XXVIII. On a Mummy's Treasures recently discovered in the Delta. Communicated by the Rev. C. W. King, M.A., Trinity College. 385

XXIX. The Triumph of Constantine. Communicated by the Rev. C. W. King, M.A., Trinity College 391

PAGE

XXX. Remarks on the Littera Fraternitatis Concessa Wytfrido Juarli Filio de Insula de Ysland, preserved at Canterbury. Communicated by E. Magnússon, M.A., Trinity College . . 401

XXXI. On some Burial Urns found near the mouth of the Amazon River. Communicated by Nevill Goodman, Esq., M.A., Peterhouse 411

XXXII. Short Statement relative to some Roman Graves found at Hunstanton. Communicated by Wm. White, Esq., Sub-Librarian of Trinity College. (With one plate.) . . . 423

Index to Vol. IV. 427

LIST OF PLATES.

To No. I.	One Plate	To face page 8.
To No. IV.	One Plate	To face page 13.
To No. V.	One folding Plate	To face page 17.
To No. VII.	Two Plates, facing one another .	To precede page 67.
To No. VIII.	One Plate	To face page 85.
,,	One Map	To follow page 96.
To No. XI.	One Plate	To face page 129.
To No. XII.	Two Plates, facing one another .	To precede page 177.
To No. XVI.	One folding Plate	To face page 207.
To No. XVIII.	One folding Plate	To face page 223.
To No. XIX.	One Plate (Arms)	To face page 255.
,,	One folding Plate (Tracery Painting)	To face page 258.
To No. XXIV.	Two Plates (Trinity Church), facing one another	To precede page 313.
,,	One Plate (Mitred Abbot) . . .	To face page 314.
To No. XXV.	One Plate	To face page 337.
To No. XXVI.	One folding Map	To face page 343.
To No. XXVII.	One folding Plate	To face page 377.
To No. XXXII.	One Plate	To face page 423.

CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN COMMUNICATIONS,

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CONTENTS.

		PAGE
I.	On a Fresco in Chesterton Church. Communicated by T. H. Naylor, Esq., M.A. (With a photograph.)	3
II.	A Draft of a Letter by John Gerard, with comments by B. D. Jackson, Esq., F.L.S. Communicated by C. C. Babington, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., Professor of Botany	7
III.	On a Shekel of the Year Five. Communicated by the Rev. S. S. Lewis, M.A., F.S.A., Corpus Christi College	9
IV.	On some Pre-historic Peruvian Stone Implements. Communicated by A. J. Duffield, Esq. (With a lithograph.)	13
V.	On an Early Runic Calendar found in Lapland in 1866. Communicated by E. Magnússon, Esq., M.A., Trinity College. (With a photograph and six full-page wood-cuts.)	17
VI.	On some Recent Discoveries in Grantchester Church. Communicated by the Rev. F. G. Howard, M.A., Trinity College . .	63
VII.	On an Antique Statuette representing "Spes Vetus." Communicated by the Rev. C. W. King, M.A., Trinity College. (With two lithographs.)	67

FRESCO DISCOVERED IN CHESTERTON CHURCH, CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

I. On a Fresco in Chesterton Church. Communicated by T. H. Naylor, Esq., M.A.

[Nov. 13, 1876.]

The fresco painting, of which a copy is given in the annexed photograph, exists upon a block of Caen stone in my own possession, which was found about five years ago amongst rubbish that had been employed to fill up a window in the parish church of Chesterton in this county.

The dimensions of the stone are as follows:—length, 1 ft. 2½ in.; breadth, 9½ in.; thickness, 1⅝ in.

By peeling off the whitewash (which had probably been added at some time of trouble in order to save the painting below from destruction) the portrait of a female saint in nearly full length was brought to light again, painted upon a ground diapered with fleurs de lys.

The figure is one foot in length, having been cut off about half-way between the knee and ancle, and seems to represent one who had been martyred in early womanhood: the head is surrounded by a wave-line of glory within a circle, and is bent gracefully forward: the auburn hair is confined by a

ribbon passing round the temples, and falls loose over both shoulders. Her close-fitting sleeved under garment is dark brown, bordered with black, and leaves the throat bare. The upper garment, a mantle of a light blue lined with lilac, is thrown loosely over her shoulders—the end of it is caught up and hangs from her left arm. The waist is defined by a narrow girdle.

To form a just identification of the personality, which some artist unknown has so pleasantly portrayed, we must study her attributes, in this case only *two* in number,—a pointed tool resembling a pick, or it may be an adze and hammer combined, which she holds up in her right hand, while the left hand shows a basket containing ruddy fruit and flowers.

The former doubtless marks only the manner of her martyrdom: but the contents of the basket in her left hand enable us to fix upon her name as probably *St Dorothea.* This virgin martyr was a native of Caesareia in Cappadocia, and suffered in the persecution under Diocletian about 303 A.D.: she is commemorated by the Western Church on the 6th of February. While lying stretched on the *catasta,* an iron bed under which a slow fire was burning, Dorothea was asked by the tormentor "Where is Christ?" She replied "In his omnipotence he is everywhere; in his humanity he is in heaven, the Paradise to which he invites us—where the woods are ever adorned with fruit, and lilies ever bloom white, and roses ever flower." Then said a lawyer named Theophilus, "Thou spouse of Christ, send me from Paradise some of these fruits and flowers." And Dorothea answered him, "I will." And her torments were soon finished, and she earned the crown of martyrdom. Shortly afterwards there appeared to Theophilus, who had been telling some friends of his request and her promise in answer, an angel holding out to him apples and roses, such as no earthly garden had ever produced. And he believed, and confessed, and received the baptism of blood.

St Elizabeth of Hungary is also represented with a basket of flowers as a means of concealing her inobtrusive acts of charity: with this attribute she appears painted on a panel[1] formerly in All Saints'[2] Church at Fulbourn in this county, but now in Trinity College Library.

As to the date of this interesting fresco, it may probably—both from its general style, and in particular from the cusping of the canopy under which the martyr stands—be attributed to the middle of the fourteenth century.

[1] Described at length in the *Archæological Journal* (1874—75), vol. XXXI. p. 421—22, and vol. XXXII. p. 133.

[2] See *Cambridge Antiquarian Communications*, vol. III. p. 215 seqq.

Note.—For the photograph which accompanies this paper the Society has to thank Mr Naylor.

II. On a Draft of a Letter proposing the formation of a Physic Garden at Cambridge shortly before 1598 by John Gerard. By Ben. Daydon Jackson, Esq., F.L.S., Editor of Gerard's Catalogue of Plants. Communicated by C. C. Babington, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., Professor of Botany.

[Nov. 13, 1876.]

A short time since, whilst engaged in amassing material for a life of John Gerard the Herbalist, I came upon an interesting autograph letter in the British Museum amongst the Lansdowne MSS., and thinking it might be appreciated by your Society, have copied, and send the same herewith.

The document appears to be a draft for approval by Gerard's master, Cecil, Baron Burghley, but from some cause or other it never received his lordship's signature, but was placed aside amongst his papers. What gave rise to its being penned, I cannot even conjecture, for Gerard remained in Lord Burghley's service until the death of the latter in 1589. It must I think prove interesting to all who care to learn anything of the past history of the University of Cambridge, since had the contained proposals been adopted, it is quite possible that Gerard might only have been known as the first gardener appointed by the University, and not as the Author of the *Herball*. It must be noted, that the Oxford Botanic Garden was founded in 1632, twenty years subsequent to the death of Gerard, consequently under the suggested circumstances it would have been a younger institution, instead of an older one.

After my most hartie commendcions, &c. As yt hath beene alwaies myne especiall care (neither doubt I but yt is yours also) to procure by all meanes possible y^e^ floorishing estate of your universitie in religion & liberal sciences :—so at this p^r^sent (to my great comfort) I see yt not inferiour herin to any universitie in Europe or any other pat [*sic*] of y^e^ world were yt not y^t^ many famous nurseries (as *Padua Montpellier* that of *Vienna* &c.) others had prevented or rather provoked us by their good example, in purchasing of publique gardens and seeking out men of good experience to dresse and keepe the same whereby that noble science of physicke is made absolute as having recovered y^e^ facultie of *Simpling* a principall and materiall part thereof, wherefore not doubting of your readines in imitating or æmulating the best in so laudable actions I thought yt good to moove you herin & to commend this bearer *Ihon Gerard* a servant of mine vnto you: who by reason of his travaile into farre countries, his great practise & long experience is thoroughly acquainted with the generall & speciall differences, names, properties & privie markes of thousands of plants & trees. So y^t^ if you intend a worke of sueh emolument to y^r^selves and all young students I shall be glad to have nominated and furnished you with so expert an *Herbarist:* & your selves I trust will think well of the motion and the man. Thus desiring god to prosper all your godlie studies and painfull indeuors I bidde you hartily farewell.

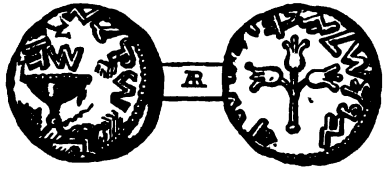
LANSDOWNE MSS., Vol. 107, No. 92, fol. 155.

This letter bears a nearly illegible endorsement, to the effect that it was drawn up by Gerard himself for the Lord Treasurer to sign. Whatever may have led to the draft being prepared, it is at least an interesting document, and as sueh I trust will be received by you.

B. DAYDON JACKSON.

III. On a Shekel of the Year Five. Communicated by the Rev. S. S. Lewis, M.A., Corpus Christi College.

[Nov. 13, 1876.]



Amongst a considerable number of shekels belonging to the Jerusalem find of the winter of 1873—74 which had come into the possession of Mr H. Hoffmann, of Paris, one was identified by him a year ago as bearing the date ה, *i.e.* year 5. No other piece bearing this date is as yet known to exist; but as its authenticity is quite unquestionable, we have in this unique shekel the proof of an emission hitherto unsuspected by numismatists. The coin, of which an engraving is given above, weighs 219[1] grains, and has passed into my cabinet.

The type—with the exception of the distinguishing date-letter already mentioned—is identical with that of those previously discovered, which are referred to years 1 to 4 inclusive, viz. on the obverse, the Pot of Manna with the legend around

[1] The full weight is 220 grains.

[שקל ישׂראל] *Shekel of Israel,* and on the reverse a stem with three blossoms (probably in allusion to Aaron's rod that budded) and the legend ירושלים ה[קדו]שה *Jerusalem the Holy.* Cavedoni however would rather interpret these symbols as being a sacred vessel of the temple (cf. Exod. XVI. 33) and a lily or hyacinth, referring to the words "He shall bloom like a lily" (Hosea XIV. 5). The year is represented by the successive letters of the Hebrew alphabet from א to ה, with ש for שנת (*Shenath* year) prefixed. The year 5 may be taken to correspond with 453 B.C., if (with M. de Saulcy) such shekels be assigned to the government of Ezra—an opinion which has recently been adopted by such eminent numismatists in this country as Messrs Vaux and F. W. Madden[1].

MM. Renan, Six, Dr Merzbacher and others, prefer to attribute them to Simon Maccabeus, 143—145 B.C.: but the earlier date is well supported by the consideration of the *artistic style* of these pieces and their close correspondence in *weight* with the Phoenician[2] standard.

To Mr F. R. Conder[3], C.E., we are indebted for the suggestion that the five successive date-letters may indicate as many emissions for sabbatical periods of seven years in sequence. Be this as it may, we cannot but note (as Mr Evans first observed), that on the shekels and half-shekels of the *first* year two pellets are to be seen—one on either side of the sacred vessel—, and that on the reverse we read Jerusal*em*, ירושלם, whilst all subsequent coins of this class have the word Jerusal*aim* (dual), ירושלים.

Hence it may possibly be inferred that there was a con-

[1] See his *Supplement to the History of Jewish Coinage* in the Numismatic Chronicle (1874) vol. XIV. N.S. pp. 288—89.

[2] Compare *Brandis* Münz- Mass- und Gewichts-Wesen p. 158 seqq. III. 2, Berlin 1866.

[3] See *Bible Educator*, vol. III. p. 176, and, on the other side, Mr F. W. Madden in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, N.S. vol. XIV. p. 294.

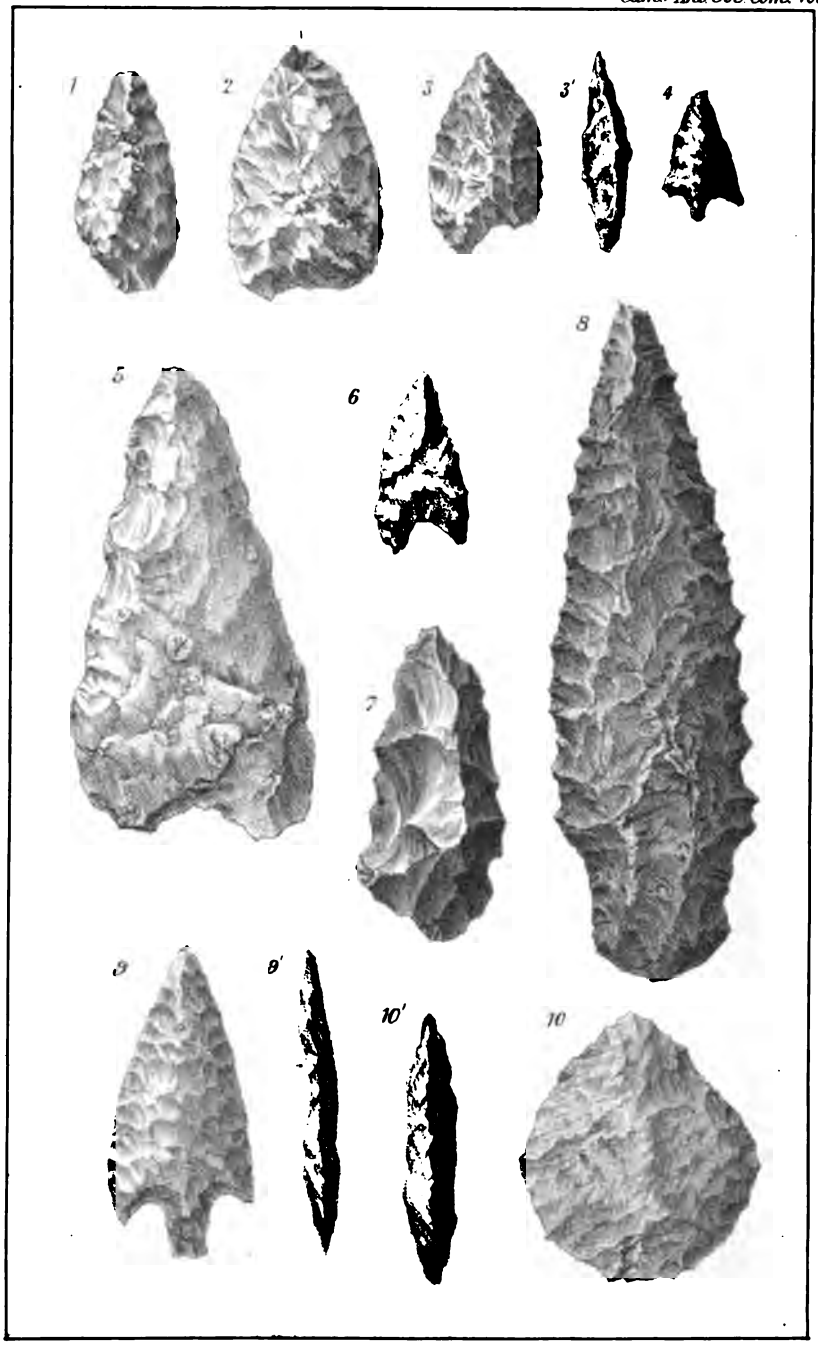
siderable interval between the issue of the first year and of the subsequent years.

The legend is given in the so-called *Phoenician* character, that with its several calligraphical variations (amongst which the Samaritan is most notable) long lingered on in remote districts, notwithstanding its express proscription in the Talmud[1] for "ritual" codices of the Law: some critics are of opinion that it was not finally supplanted by the square Hebrew now in use until the third century A.D. Several of our modern "Arabic" figures apparently owe their origin to the successive letters of this earlier alphabet.

It may be added that, until this recent find (1873—74), the date 4W (year 4) was only known by a single specimen in the possession of the Rev. H. C. Reichardt (*Numismatic Chronicle*, N.S., vol. ii. p. 269). Half-shekels of the third year, which were previously so rare that they were unknown to M. de Saulcy when he published his "Recherches sur la Numismatique Judaïque" in 1854, were also present in this hoard. Of these Mr Reichardt already possessed a specimen in 1862. The half-shekels of the fourth and fifth years have still to be discovered.

My best thanks are due and hereby offered to Mr Evans, of Nash Mills, for many valuable suggestions upon this interesting department of Jewish numismatics.

[1] Treatise *Sopherim*: compare also T. B. *Synhedrin*, 21[b]—22[a] and ib. *Megillah* 18[a].



All those figured are varieties of quartz and chert except N°7 which is a kind of jasper, and N°8 which is a red porphyritic felsite. 3' is a Section of 3 & similarly 9' and 10' of 9 and 10 respectively All are drawn to the exact size of the original.

IV. On some Pre-historic Peruvian Stone Implements. Communicated by A. J. Duffield, Esq.

[Nov. 27, 1876.]

The collection of flint, porphyritic, granite, and silici-calcarious implements on which I am to address you to-night originally consisted of twenty-one arrow and spear-heads, lancets and gravers; but after being lent to various learned persons for examination, their number has been reduced to sixteen; the missing examples were exquisite things wrought in burning opal. To prevent any further diminution of objects so interesting as these, I beg to offer them to the Cambridge Antiquarian Society for their acceptance.

The collection, although small, is the largest ever made of similar antiquities from that country.

It is also of importance to note that the collection was made by my friend Captain Jeffry, who resided two years in the district where the implements were found, that I procured them direct from him, and that I subsequently visited the ground, and added to the number a couple of the implements of my own finding. The genuineness and authenticity of the objects may therefore be said to be undoubted.

The gully and river of Pisagua, where these ancient remains were found, is on the coast of Peru, in south latitude 19°, and about forty miles north of Iquique. This gully runs for more

On this level was found the smaller of the porphyritic spear-heads deeply embedded in a natural cement, and how many thousands of years it may have lain there will be always a matter for speculation.

Three hundred years before the Spanish Conquest this part of the coast was thickly populated by a people who knew how to make the earth fruitful, and keep it so; a race of whose rulers it has been said their feet never trod the desert, but there sprang up a garden.

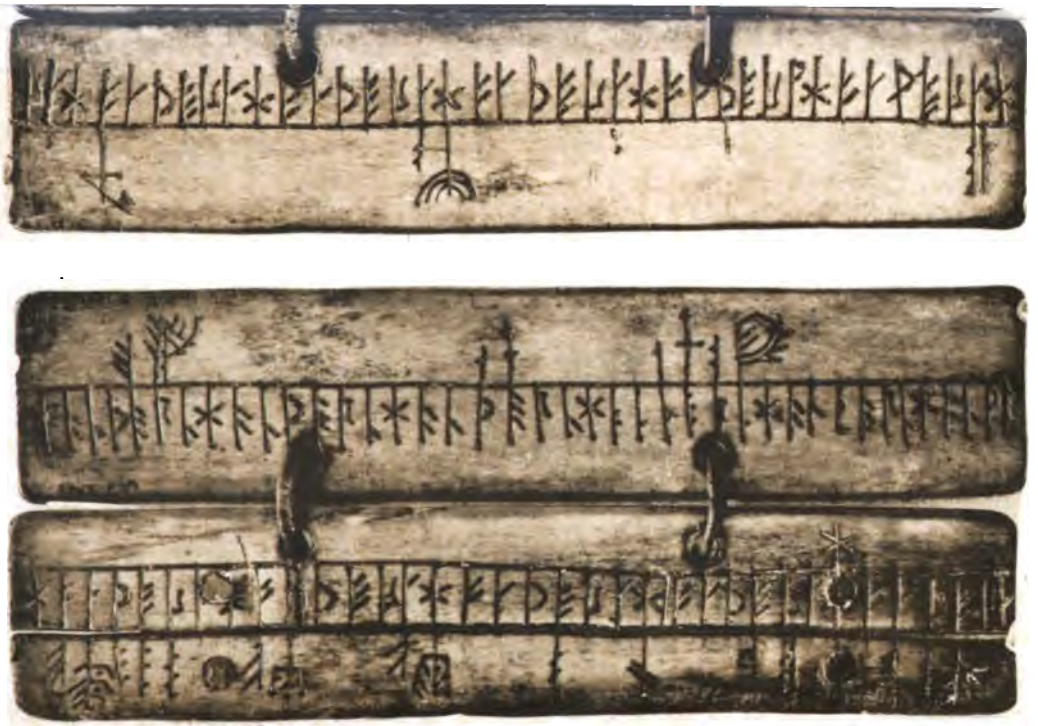
Garcilazo tells us that in the reign of Inca Pachacutec so thick were the people along this coast that an army of more than 60,000 men was needed to conquer them. Even at the time of the Spaniards' advent this valley was compared to an ant-hill, for the number of the people and their industrial pursuits. *Now* the only things to show that any people ever occupied that part of the once flowering earth are these simple tools and weapons of stone which I present to you.

10

3

2

1



EARLY RUNIC CALENDAR.

FOUND IN LAPLAND, 1866.

THE LINES READ FROM LEFT TO RIGHT IN THE ORDER INDICATED BY THE NUMERALS.

CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY'S COMMUNICATIONS.

Vol. IV.

V. On an Early Runic Calendar found in Lapland in 1866. Communicated by Eiríkr Magnússon, M.A., Trinity College.

[*March* 19, 1877.]

We have here exhibited, by the favour of the owner, the Rev. James Beck, Rector of Parham, Sussex, a runic Calendar of Scandinavian origin, engraved on six plates of reindeer horn. The only thing known of the history of this calendar is that, in 1866, the present owner secured it in Lapland from a native who was in the habit of carrying it on his person.

The six plates, on which the calendar is carved, are treated as six leaves, and are bound together loosely, so as to allow them to turn over easily, by a piece of thong drawn through a couple of holes which go at a corresponding distance near the inner margin, or the back of the carving as it were, through all the plates. Thus the calendar presents the appearance of a small volume with the writing running down the page lengthways, instead of cross-ways. The outside of the outside plates, *i.e.* the *recto* of plate 1 and the *verso* of plate 6, is left blank. Plate 1 has, apparently a good long while ago, split in two halves, and has been mended by a couple of clumsy hafts of copper secured by copper rivets through the plate. The engraving, or writing, begins on the verso of plate 1, and covers $9\frac{3}{8}$ of the sides of the plates, leaving thus blank $\frac{1}{8}$ of the recto of plate 6, as the autotype representation shows. Along the sides of the plates on which the writing is found, and roughly speaking along the middle, is drawn a line, which serves as a rule-line to a series of runic characters, that run from left to right, and represent the Dominical Letters. On the verso of plate 1, and

the recto of all the rest, the line of runic characters runs below this rule-line; on the verso of plates 2—5 inclusive the runes run above it. This arrangement is merely the result of the rune-carver's convenience; and the various emblematic signs attached to certain days, which are always found on the side of the rule-line opposite to that taken up by the runic characters, consequently alternately above and below the rule-line, undergo no change in signification by reversing their position as to the rule-line. In every case they betoken a Saint's or a feast-day, or the fast, or the vigil, to be observed in connection with such days. I mention these details purposely, because, as carved runic calendars, as a rule, exhibit, besides the dominical letters and the feast-days' emblems, also figures and signs for the purpose of calculating the lunar cycle, and generally on that side of the line of the dominical letters, which is opposite to that where the emblems of the saints' days are found: so some might be disposed to think that the signs here, when changing their position from above to below the line of the dominical letters, thereby underwent a change in signification. But such is not the case. This calendar knows no golden numbers nor affords any means to calculate the moon's cycle, and consequently supplies no clue to the moveable feasts.

I must notice that, on the verso of plates 1 and 3, and on the recto of plate 4, there occur some erasures which I think must be taken as evidence of the calendar being the work of a copyist, not that of an original compiler. In support of this surmise may also be adduced an uncorrected slip on the recto of plate 4, where in the first week of that side, the runes ᚹ (dom. let. b) and ᚱ (dom. let. a) interchange their proper position.

The runic characters employed in this calendar for dominical letters differ from ordinary runes in some details. They are evidently meant to represent, as is generally the case in runic calendars, the first seven letters of the ancient runic alphabet:

ᚠᚢᚦᚱᚴᚼ, *i.e.* FUÞORKH, but here the rune for U, being identical in form with that for K, and the rune for O, are both altogether irregular. The upward reversion of the side-stroke of the R and the U and the downward reversion of the side-strokes of F, O and K are also irregularities to be noticed.

In order to make the calendar more easily understood, I have added an engraving of it with the days of the month on one side of the runic line and the dominical letters on the other. By this means the important question, on what day the year commences and what day is left out (see I.), is settled at a glance without giving the reader the trouble of following me through the wearisome process which led to the discovery.

I think all points of interest directly connected with this calendar will find their solution, so far as I am able to solve them, by grouping them under the following three heads of inquiries:

1. What are the probable reasons for the number of days given to the year in this calendar?
2. Why does the year begin as it does here?
3. To what time does this calendar belong?

I.

As to the first inquiry, it is a most remarkable peculiarity, and worthy of especial notice, that this calendar gives not 365, but 364 days to the year. After some search I have failed in discovering any evidence of the existence of another runic calendar giving the same number of days to the year. Worm, in his Fasti Danici, and Liljegren, in his Runlära, both of whom are exhaustive writers on the subject, are equally ignorant of any such calendar-year on runic staves, or what commonly are called clog-almanacks. Therefore, the rarer the case before us is, the more interesting it becomes and the more worthy of inquiry.

As I mentioned before, this calendar is, I think without

doubt, a copy, not an original compilation. Then the question is, does it in this particular point faithfully represent its original? If it does so, it would represent a calendric tradition which acknowledged only 364 days in the year. But, as I shall show more fully in my answer to the second question, I think it may not unreasonably be doubted, whether it is not a copy of an original, which counted 365 days in the year instead of 364. And supposing that to have been the actual case, one of two things must be accepted: either the number of days in the year in this calendar is the result of an accidental oversight, or the copyist, refusing to accept the computation of his original, *wilfully* computed 364 days to the year. The supposition of an accidental oversight may, in my opinion, be dismissed at once. Seeing that this is not only a copy, but a collated and corrected copy of an earlier original, the omission of one day, supposing that the copyist was cognisant of the fact that 365 days ought to belong to the year, could not have escaped him in the collation, and much less in afterwards putting it to the practical test of perusal. The things moreover, which he corrects, being only some few misplaced strokes indicative of vigils and fasts, are but trifling mistakes in comparison to what to him must have been the grossest blunder possible, that of leaving out a day. I do not therefore see how the inference is to be avoided that, supposing there was an original really representing 365 days in the year, for the evidence on the point only amounts to probability, the copyist for reasons of his own did not choose to give to the year more than 364; and these reasons could scarcely have consisted in anything but an old established tradition, in which the copyist had greater confidence than in the accuracy of his original.

But in assuming that in this particular point the copyist was carrying out an old established tradition against a new method of computation, it will be asked where the evidence is of the Scandinavians ever having calculated their year at 364

instead of 365 days. There not only is an evidence on record to prove this; but it is an evidence which takes us back to the very times, when the things existed to which it bears witness. According to this evidence, which I shall bring forward immediately, the custom prevailed among the heathen Scandinavians as late as the middle of the 10th century, of counting in the year twelve (lunar) months, each consisting of 30 days, with four additional days, making the cycle of the year 364 days altogether.

Ari the Learned (1068—1148), who, I may mention in passing, wrote Icelandic prose long before vernacular prose-composition was attempted in any other living European language, mentions in his *Islendingabók*, or Libellus Islandorum, the probable date of which is circa 1133 A.D., an incident which it is of great importance to notice in connection with this calendar. This book contains a survey of the earliest events of importance in the history of Iceland. In the fourth chapter the author gives an account of a computistic difficulty which had been puzzling the Icelanders for some time, and tells how that difficulty was solved, and how the solution was invested with legal authority. The sense of Ari's words, which it is impossible to translate literally, is as follows:

"It also befell then—the wisest men here in the land having been wont to count in two half years 364 days, which amounts to 52 weeks, or twelve months of thirty days, and four days beside—that they marked from the sun's course, that the summer would draw back towards spring; but no one knew, or could tell them, that in two half years there was one day beyond the full tale of complete weeks, or that this was the cause. But there was a man called Thorstein the Swarthy, who hailed from Broadfirth, a son of Hallstein the son of Thorolf of Mostr, who was a land-settler, and of Osk the daughter of Thorstein the Red. This man had a dream. He thought he stood on the Rock of Law (*Lögberg*) when many folk were

gathered there together, and he thought that all other folk slept at the time. Again he thought that he slept himself, while all other folk awoke. This dream Osyf the son of Helgi and the father of the mother of Gellir Thorkelsson interpreted to mean, that all men would grow silent, while he (Thorstein the Swarthy) spoke on the Rock of Law; but afterwards, when he had done speaking, all folk would give good cheer to that which he had spoken. But these were mightily wise men both of them. Now, after this, when people came to the Thing, he (Thorstein the Swarthy) gave out the counsel at the Rock of Law, that every seventh summer should be increased by a week for a trial as to how that would answer. And even according as Osyf had interpreted the dream all men awoke well at this, and it was forthwith sanctioned by law at the counsel of Thorkel Moon and other wise men."

This correction of the heathen calendar in Iceland took place about the year 960 A.D. We learn from this account, first, that the heathen year had 364 days; that now it was so far corrected that it fell in with the ordinary year according to the Julian Calendar, but that as yet the Icelanders were not cognizant of the *bissextile* day, for Thorstein's advice goes clearly to prove that that day had no place in his calculation[1]. This incident

[1] To the passage quoted above from the *Islendingabók* there is added the following note of explanation, which aims at reconciling the old heathen computation with the method of that of the Julian Calendar:

"By right reckoning there are, in every year, 365 days, when the year is not a leap year, in which case it has one day more; but by our reckoning (there are) 364 (days in the year); so when by our reckoning every seventh year is increased by a week, but by nothing according to the other reckoning, then seven years together become equally long by both reckonings. But if two leap years fall between the years which are to be increased, then the sixth must be augmented."

In order to understand what can be understood of this note it must be clearly remembered, that the two modes of computation are set off against each other in order to show how the old (our reckoning) tallies with the new (the right reckoning) *i.e.* the Julian computation. In the first passage

gives us an insight into the *previous* as well as the actual state of things in this particular in Iceland. Some ninety years before this event the Norwegians had begun to emigrate to Iceland. The immigration lasted for 60 years according to Ari's no doubt truthful account. By this time, therefore, the country had been fully settled for thirty years only. As it is certain that in other matters the Norwegians brought with them the traditions of the mother country, so in this matter it must have been especially the case, for of all things they must have guarded most faithfully the mother country's method of computing time and changes of seasons. When Ari therefore says that the Icelanders had been in the habit of calculating the days of the year at 364, it is evident that that could not be a mode of counting the days invented in Iceland, but was, on the contrary, one of the fixed features of the civilization of the

the author squares seven common Julian years of 365 days—striking out the bissextile day (for that seems to be the only meaning of "increased by nothing")—against the seven years of "our reckoning" of 364 days each + 7 days added to the summer of the seventh year. These two periods, thus calculated, are equally long. But if the author means that, in this calculation, only the seventh year in the Julian cycle is not to be a leap-year but a common year, which some might perhaps contend was the meaning, from the contrast which the opening words of the second clause convey, then his calculation is utterly at fault, as in that case "our reckoning" would be invariably one or two days short against the "right" or Julian. But of the second clause I do not see how anything can be made at all. The author evidently confounds one method of computation with the other. For what happens when "two leap years occur between the (six) years which are to be increased," is this, that by the Julian computation every five and six years produce the seven days which he thinks that six years by "our reckoning" produce at the end of the sixth summer, which, of course, is impossible. The conclusion seems to me to lie near, that this explanatory note is scarcely genuine, but is rather the interpolation of a later unskilled computist. It is a curious peculiarity with regard to the language of this chapter that dagr in the sense of day = day and night, is used here instead of *nátt*, which is much more common in the earliest and best writings of Iceland. Is this word used in obedience to the ancient canon law of Iceland, which ruled that, in computistic calculation, day should take the precedence of night? See Kristinn rèttr Þorláks ok Ketils, ch. xlv.

mother country. And a further proof of it can be drawn from the relations of the two countries at the time. People were perpetually going backwards and forwards between Norway and Iceland, the intercommunion was of the closest, and was most frequent even among the very classes who must have guarded the computistic lore of the country most faithfully—the hereditary aristocracy, who in Iceland remained what they had lately been in Norway, kings and priests at once, and were thereby the self-constituted guardians of the observances of the heathen rites, festivals and high seasons. In fact, these people were the living editions of the calendars of the time[1]. I may still mention a

[1] In support of my statement I may adduce the following passage from the republican code of laws, the Grágás; Uer scolom leiðir eiga oc scolo goðar þeir eiga leið saman er þing eigo saman. oc scal þar leið þeirra vera sem þingstoð þeirra er.....þar scal ny mæli oll up segia aleið oc miseris tal. oc imbrodaga hald. oc langafösto i gang oc sva ef hlavp ár er eða ef við sumar er lagt. We shall have Leets and shall those priests hold a Leet together who belong to the same thing (district), and their Leet shall be holden where their thingstead is.....There shall all new law-provisions be given forth at the Leet and the computation of the year and the Emberdays' observances and the advent of lent, likewise (it shall be stated) if there be a leap-year or if summer is added to. Grág. ed. 1853, p. 111—112. Cpr. also; drottins dag þaN scolo ver ganga i fostv. sem upp er sagt a þingvm oc a leiþvm. On that Lord's day shall we enter on lent which is given out at Things and Leets. Grág. ead. ed., p. 32. These were among the duties which the local aristocrats had to perform in returning to their respective jurisdictions (thing) from the Althing, where, according to the provisions of the Lögsögumanns-þáttr, the lögsögumaðr, or spokesman-at-law, had to give out, on the Rock-of-Law, amongst other things, the computation for the current year: Lögsogo maðr a up at segia.....at lögbergi..... misseris tal. Grág. ead. ed. p. 209. These local aristocrats were the descendants of the heathen aristocrats, goðar or priests, who, during the heathen age, combined in their person the pontifical with the autocratic power. It cannot be considered anything but a continuance of their whilom prerogatives and duties that, under the episcopal régime in the Christian age, they should have to promulgate to their *thingmen* or liegemen the current calendar. Had this not been formerly a part and parcel of their prerogatives, we may be certain that the Christian bishops would not, in disregard of their clergy, have committed to lay lords the care of so important a branch of the ecclesiastical polity.

fact pointing in the same direction. Some thirty years before this correction of the calendar took place the Icelanders had procured from Norway a set of unwritten laws, called, after their author, Ulfljót's laws. It is hardly conceivable that these laws should have left the calendar question, one of the most important legislative questions in primitive times, altogether unnoticed. And had they computed the year at 365 days, there would have been no cause for the long-standing puzzle, which Thorstein the Swarthy was called upon to solve at a public assembly of the legislators of the country. As far, therefore, as I can see, no doubt is possible as to the uncorrected year, that Ari describes, having been the common heathen year of Scandinavia; on the other hand, it is equally certain that Thorstein's correction is a computistic achievement of purely Icelandic origin. But that is a point with which we are not further concerned now.

I am not aware that in Scandinavia any efforts were made to correct the year until Christianity, at the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century, brought in the Julian Calendar, as adapted to the Christian era by Dionysius Exiguus, and further popularized and expanded by the venerable Bede in his admirable work De ratione temporum. To this treatise and the other astronomical works, written by the same author, the great majority of the earliest Scandinavian writings on astronomy and computistic lore trace their origin more or less directly. But Bede, after all, was accessible only to the clerks. To the outside world, the laity, he was a sealed book, and although the church from the very beginning followed the correct calculation of the days, &c., the great mass of the people, who were in absolute ignorance of literature of any kind, followed the traditions of their forefathers in the calculation of their days and seasons. And it would be difficult to mention anything connected with the history of human civilization and culture to which man clings with such a stubborn conservatism as ancient calendrical and computistic traditions. Naturally,

The primitive attempts at framing a calendar are based upon untutored observations of various natural, chiefly celestial, phenomena, among which the solstice, as one of the most easily grasped, takes from the first a prominent place.

The observation of these phenomena, being accompanied by imagination unhampered by the abstraction of a scientific age, takes from the very beginning the character of a lore which veers between superstitious science and scientific superstition on the relation of a certain day or a certain set of days at certain seasons to man and man's interests. By its concrete or material and especially in virtue of its subjective nature this lore becomes easily the property of the multitudes, its doctrines, ominous or propitious, pass from father to son, and become the lifelong companions of the tiller of the land and the toiler of the sea. While the nation has no vernacular literature and does not know the use of books, a large portion of its literary treasures is made up of computistic lore, which in these circumstances is faithfully guarded and long preserved in unalloyed primitive purity, as all ancient mythologies bear out incontestably.

That the Scandinavians were at a very early age acquainted with some practical mode of recording their calendric and computistic experiences seems certain. The early records of their history and traditions speak of aldr-rúnir and æfi-rúnir, *i. e.* runes of age and time, which can only mean writings of calendric nature. What the precise nature of those records may have been, we have no means of determining now. But their general outward characteristic was certainly that they were cut on solid objects of portable nature, logs of wood (*kefli*) generally. These heathen logs became doubtless the prototypes of the Christian runic calendars, which in a similar manner were cut on portable objects of various description, but in the great majority of cases on the so-called runic staves, of which a large quantity is found in Scandinavia in private hands, and public collections; while

in Iceland itself, where writing was practised and books were read, more or less generally, from the 12th century onward, not one, to this day, so far as I am aware, has been found. When the Roman alphabet found its way to Scandinavia with the introduction of Christianity, the vernacular writing at the time was in the runic character, which at that time had passed from the antique (old runes) to a more modern type (later runes). In practice this writing was chiefly used for memorial and magic purposes. The latter, the magic employment of the runes, though practised by few only, was extensive and popular, the more so for the very fact, that skill in rune-craft, being a rare accomplishment, was confined to a select class of society, and was not the property of the multitudes. During the 'sword-age' of the North, which extended over the first four centuries of the authentic historic era of Scandinavia, this accomplishment was, apparently, chiefly confined to the womankind, as indeed the art of medicine generally, of which the magic rune-craft constituted a conspicuous branch. The popularity of the runes was so firm, that when the church brought in the Roman method of recording the festivals of the year, the Roman dominical letters a, b, c, d, e, f, g, had to be abandoned, and as many of the vernacular alphabet were adopted, the first seven generally, ᚠ,ᚢ,ᚦ,ᚨ,ᚱ,ᚴ,ᚼ, and such was the tenacity with which people clung to this particular form of calendric record in the North, that for upwards of 600 years after the introduction of Christianity, and for nearly, if not fully, two centuries after that of printing, it was the popularly current one in Scandinavia, and is still in use in certain places in Norway and Sweden. Thus all runic staves, without exception, represent the calendar of the Christian church, no stave or log, representing a purely heathen computation of the year, having been discovered as yet. These points it is well to notice here, because this very calendar, though of Christian origin, betrays intermixed with the Chris-

tian computation heathen traditions which assign to it a pre-eminently important place in the still imperfectly explored, but none the less important literature of early runic calendars. And it stands, as yet, as a unique collateral evidence of Ari the Learned's computistic record in *Islendingabók* being a true one as far as the number of days in the year is concerned.

II.

As is shown by the explanatory engraving of the calendar, the year begins on the 23rd of December. That this date is correctly given for the first day of the year is proved by the agreement between the saints' days, the days of the month on which they fall, and the Christian Sunday Letters. On that point no further explanation is required. In thus beginning the year this calendar exhibits a very rare, if not unique peculiarity. I could point to no other runic calendar beginning the year in the same manner; while numbers could be shown which, beginning the year in the Yuletide, invariably commence it on the 25th; and of the two modes of beginning it there is no question that the one here exhibited is the genuine heathen, while the other, of course, is the genuine Christian.

Again I must refer to the words of Ari the Learned which I quoted in the beginning. At the time to which he referred, we saw that the solar year was known, not as we know it under the collective notion of 365 days, but as a sum total of two half-years; a half-year, in fact, forming the unit, as it were, of the so-called year. This half-year Ari knows under the name of "misseri," which, no doubt, is an Anglo-Saxon immigrant in Icelandic, and means half-year, practically speaking, although by its derivation it probably only means changing season. It is further evident from Ari's account that the two half-years are Winter and Summer. The Islendingabók bears out abundantly, that these were the names given in Ari's time, to each half-year. And we have them distinctly defined in the *Rym-*

begla, an old computistic work, which says that it is called "misseris"-tale that two "misseri" make one year, that is winter and summer. It is therefore evident, that anciently the year was known, in the technical sense at least, as only a *semestre*, the six months passing from solstice to solstice. Among the Icelanders this notion of the year's length would seem to have been quite in common vogue even as late as the 14th century, and is so, I might say, to this day. The early writers, in making chronological statements, most generally employ the term "á þessum missirum," during these half yearly seasons, meaning this year; or they use the word *vetr*, winter, to signify a year, except when they talk of events of annual duration, such as, *e.g.*, the yearly tenure of an office, which they know to commence within the summer season, in which case summer is the term employed for a year. Now the distinction drawn between the two solstitial semestres, winter and summer, winter being used generally in a chronological sense to signify a year, and summer only in special cases, proves that winter was the semestre which computistically took the precedence, was in fact the semestre which began the year on the day following the winter solstice.

And here, by digression, it is worth noticing, that as winter takes precedence of summer in the sense of a year, so night takes precedence of day generally in the sense of a civil day of 24 hours in old Icelandic writers[1], a manner of speech which to

[1] This statement could be substantiated by thousands of instances from Icelandic writers. Even the Rymbegla, where accuracy in terms is more strictly observed than in the sagas, uses, as a rule, winter for year, and night for day of 24 hours: Sólar öld er kölluð at bókmáli Concurrentis öld; í þeirri öld eru vetr XXVIII,—The solar cycle is called in learned computation the cycle of the concurrents; in that cycle there are twenty-eight years, Rymb. 54; Páska öld, í þeirri öld eru tveir vetr ens IV tigar ens VI hundraðs tírsæðs,—Paschal cycle, in that cycle there are five hundred and thirty-two years, Rymb. 64; and so on.—Fimm nætr þær er umfram eru XII mánuði XXX nátta skulu fylgja Martius,—The five days in excess of twelve months of thirty days each shall be added to the month of March, Rymb. 56.

this day is far from having gone wholly into desuetude. Both peculiarities stand in direct traditional connection with the cosmogonic ideas of Northern Mythology. Winter[1] and night descend directly from the Titanic chaos which preceded organised creation, and in her turn the latter becomes the mother of the day, and on her steed Hoar-mane (Hrímfaxi) rides *before* Day round the Earth[2]. This cosmogonic idea lived on in the

I tveimr missirum eru vikur tvær ens VI tigar og nótt ein umfram; nótt sú ein heitir concurrens,—In two half years there are fifty-two weeks and one day extra, that one day is called a concurrent, Rymb. 60, &c., &c.—The oldest ecclesiastical law of Iceland, the kristinn rèttr þorláks og Ketils from 1123, provides that dagr skal fyrr koma alls misseris tals enn nótt, Day, in all computation of seasons, shall precede the night, ch. XLV. p. 166 (Cpr. Grágás ed. by Finsen, Kaupmannahöfn, 1853, p. 37), which proves that in vulgar computation the reverse was the case. This very law, however, reverses its own rule almost throughout. The vulgar mode of computation was called almannatal, all men's tale, Rymb. 100, Isl. ch. 10 fine, alment tal, id, Rymb. 16, alþýðutal, id, Rymb. ib. and 48, where it says: Enn viknatal eitt þarf til alþýðutals *i.e.* but for vulgar computation calculating by weeks only is sufficient, cpr. Isl. 6, ch. 9 fine.

[1] Enn faðir Vetrar er ýmist kallaðr Vindlóni, eðr Vindsvalr, hann er Vasaðarson, ok voru þeir áttúngar grimmir ok svalbrjóstaðir, ok hefir vetr þeirra skaplyndi,—But the father of Winter is called either Vindlóni or Vindsvalr (Chill-blast), he is the son of Vásaðr (Wetsome?), and these kinsmen were grim and chill-bosomed, and with their temper winter is endowed. Edda I. 82.

[2] Nörvi eða Narfi hèt jötun, er bygði í Jötunheimum; hann átti dóttur, er Nótt hèt, hon var svört ok dökk, sem hon átti sætt til; hon var gipt þeim manni, er Naglfari hèt; þeirra son hèt Uðr; því næst var hon gipt þeim er Annarr hèt; Jörð hèt þeirra dóttir. Síðarst átti hana Dellingr; var hann Ása ættar; var þeirra son Dagr; var hann ljóss ok fagr, eptir faðerni sínu. Þá tók Alföðr Nótt, ok Dag, son hennar, ok gaf þeim II hesta ok II kerrur, ok setti þau upp á himin, at þau skulu ríða á hverjum II dægrum umhverfis jörðina. *Ríðr Nótt fyrri*, þeim hesti er kallaðr er Hrímfaxi, ok at morgni hverjum döggvir hann jörðina af meldropum sínum. Sá hestr er Dagr á, heitir Skinfaxi, ok lýsir allt lopt ok jörðina af faxi hans.—Nörvi or Narfi was hight a giant who dwelt in Giants' home; he had a daughter hight Night, who was dark and black, according to her kind; she was wedded to a man called Naglfari, and their son was hight Uðr; then she was given in wedlock to him who was called Annarr, and their daughter was called Earth. Lastly she was owned by Delling of

efforts of the heathens to construe their computistic systems from the starry phenomena of the nightly heavens. There is no reason for the supposition, that the Icelanders borrowed this method of stating seasons and days from the Anglo-Saxons. It is a universal characteristic of early computistic efforts throughout the world.

On this very day then, the 23rd of December, the year begins according to this runic Calendar. This being the term which from the remotest mythical times the heathen Scandinavians assigned to the commencement of the year, a term moreover for the origin of which no ecclesiastical authority can be shown, it affords a very strong evidence, in addition to the number of the days, to show that this calendar belongs to a time when heathen tradition still prevailed in the computistic arrangement of the seasons.

But then the question presents itself: The year consisting only of 364 days, which is the day omitted? To this the agreement between the dominical letters and the saints' days gives a direct answer. When all the saints' days in the calendar fall on their proper dominical letter, or if, as is the case here, some do not, but the reason can be shown why such is the case, then the difficulty about the missing day is easily solved. As will be seen at a glance from the engraving of the calendar, this day is the 31st of December, to which belongs the same dominical letter as to the 1st of January. By the omission of that day no confusion is imported into the relation between the dominical letters and the days of the month or otherwise beyond what I shall now define. The distance in time between Christmas

the kin of the Æsir, and their son was Day, light and fair according to his father's kind. Then Alfather took Night, and Day her son, giving to them two horses and two cars, and set them up into the heaven that they should ride in the course of a day and night round the earth. *Night rideth first* on a steed called Hoar-mane, and every morning he bedeweth the earth with drops from his bit. The horse that Day hath is called Sheen-mane, and of his mane all air and earth are lighted up.

Day and the Feast of Circumcision, Jan. 1, and between Christmas Day and Epiphany, Jan. 6, would, by the omission, become short by one day, if these feasts were placed on their proper days of the month. This could not stand in a Christian calendar of course. So in order to observe these feasts *at a proper distance from Christmas Day*, which is the point, the signs of them are placed against the 2nd and 7th of January; and from the latter date the disturbance caused by the omission of the 31st December ceases, I think, as far as Christian feast-days are concerned, so that all Saints' days after that fall on the proper day of the month and the right Dominical Letter.

The omission of the 31st of December, the only day in the year that could be omitted without disturbing the harmony between the Dominical Letters, the days of the months and the Saints' days, seems to be only proof of heathen tradition accommodating to its wants the ecclesiastico-Julian method of computing the days of the year, but discarding it at the particular point, where it appeared superfluous or puzzling. And to one who began the year on the 23rd of December, who knew it by tradition to consist of 364 days only, the repetition of the same Dominical Letter, that is, of the same day, within one and the same week, could not be anything but a blunder; a week of eight days being a thing never heard of, a year of 365 days being consequently an absurdity. And by turning to the calendar itself we find on the verso of plate 1 the erasure to which I called attention in the beginning, in the very place where the old heathen tradition and the ecclesiastical innovation must clash, that place being where, in the original, was entered the 2nd of January. This erasure proves to me that the calendar is a copy of a Christian, not of a heathen original.

I said before that in beginning the year on the 23rd of Dec. this calendar followed heathen tradition. I may mention, however, that although that term for the commencement of the year represents perhaps the genuine heathen computation in

Scandinavia, various other terms from which to commence the year are known. I need not mention the common terms of Christmas Day and Circumcision Day. But I may notice, that in Norway it was long the prevailing custom to count the year from Tiburtius' Day, the 14th of April, which with the Norwegians was the first day of summer, and was called "Förste Sommerdag." It was a very solemn festival, no work might be done, no servant might be absent from home, no sheep-owner might eat mutton on that day, no drop of the winter's milk might be mixed with that of the summer, lest the wolves should devour the herds during the ensuing year, and provisions, of which milk formed the substance, such as curds, whey and cheese, should go bad. Again, the Danes and generally the coast inhabitants of the Baltic used anciently to commence their year with the 23rd of November, St Clement's day. In heathen times that day was the feast of the winter-sacrifice. The seafaring trader and the Viking brought their ships to harbour, and a feast of boisterous thanksgiving was religiously observed. Hence this day, as is the case in the calendar before us, is marked by an anchor, signifying ships in harbour; sometimes it has a sign to it which interpreters of runic calendar staves suppose to mean a temple, but which may just as well, perhaps more plausibly, mean a boat-shed.

Sometimes even runic staves show the 2nd of January as the initial term of the year; but that is a mere computistic mistake arising originally out of causes similar to or identical with those which, as I have shown in this very calendar, move the feast of the Circumcision down to the 2nd of January.

According to the old pre-ecclesiastic calendar of Iceland, the domestic year began, singularly enough, on one of the days between the 22nd and the 28th of July, according as Thorstein the Swarthy's seven additional days to the summer fell in with the leap-year of the present style. Roughly speaking, the year began in the middle of the summer, and from that term was

divided into 12 lunar months of 30 days each, with four days extra. And as this is the division of the year which in domestic and economic life in Iceland is still in common vogue, while all similar traditions have died out almost entirely elsewhere, it will not be altogether out of place to add the tale of these ancient months here.

1. Heyannir, Haymaking labours (Old Dan. Hö- = Hay, and Höst- = Harvest Maaned, Swed. Skortant, Skördemånad, reaping Month, Anglo-Saxon Arnmonað, Barnmonað and Weodmonað, Pasture month, *i.e.* the Month when mown fields become pastures for live stock.

2. Tvímánuðr, Twin-month, or kornskurðarmánuðr, reaping-month (Dan. Fiskemaaned Fishm., Swed. Höstmånad, or Autumn-month, Anglo-Saxon Harfæstmonað, and Halegmonað = the holy month.

3. Haustmánuðr, Autumn-month, also Garðlagsmánuðr, a name which I think refers to the building and repairing of the walls called göngu-garðar, or walking walls, which were built along mountain sides for the purpose of facilitating the travelling of foot passengers in deep snow, and securing safe arrival to human habitations in heavy snow-storms. At present a common name for it is slátrunarmánuðr or slaughtering-month, as in this month the beasts, which are intended to make up the meat-supply to the household during the winter, are slaughtered. Dan. Ridemaaned, *i.e.* mensis pecorum salientium, and Sademaaned, mod. Sædemaaned, sowing month; Swed. Blot- or Blod-månad, sacrificial or bloody Month; Anglo-Sax. Seteoda, Sowing or Seed-tide, and Winter-fyllet, winter-full-moon.

4. Gormánuðr, the month Gorr, see page 87. Others translate it gore-month, as referring to the slaughter of beasts for winter consumption, thus deriving it from Icelandic gor, the viscous slime which coats the mucous membrane of the intestines of animals. Dan. Slagtemaaned, Slaughter-month,

Pölsemaaned, Sausage-month, or Vintermaaned; Anglo-Sax. Blótmonað, Sacrificial Month.

5. Ýlir, yule-month, or frermánuðr, Freezing-month. Dan. Vintermaaned; Swed. Vintermånad; Anglo-Sax. Blótmonað and Aerra geola, the first Yule-month, and also Midvintermonað.

6. Mörsugur, fat- or suet-sucker, starvation-month (for beasts), also hrútmánuðr, Ram-month (with hrútr compare rut, and rutting season). Old Dan. Glugmaaned, Blastmonth, from glygg (orig. glugg), blast, storm? and Ismaaned, Ice-month; Swed. Thore, Thorre (cfr. the following Þorri) and Thorsmånad (by corruption?) the month of Thor; Anglo-Sax. Wolfmonað and Geola æftera, the later Yule-month.

7. Þorri, which I am inclined to connect with þurr, dry, cfr. þerra, þerrir, &c., and think it means the Rainless Month, a month in which snow falls generally, but not rain. And in the old myth Þorri was, as a deity, worshipped by the Kvens for making plenteous snow, see page 87. Others derive the name from þverra to wane, as if it indicated the waning winter, or from þorri, main, main portion, main part, majority (not recorded in Cleasby-Vigfússon), as being the month in which the winter weather displays its might and main. Old Norv. Thorre; Dan. Blidemaaned or Blidelmaaned, scarcely connected with blid, blithe, sweet, genial; later Gjö; Swed. Goja; Anglo-Sax. anciently Sprout-kele (Kele = cole, kale), later Solmonað.

8. Góa, now góa; of uncertain derivation. Norv. Gjö; Dan. Thormaaned; Swed. Thurrmånad, Blida, Blidemånad; Anglo-Sax. Rhedmonað, cpr. Icel. hryðja, sleet, squall, blasty shower, and Hlyða, Hlyðmonad, cpr. Icel. hlær, thawing, the thawing-month.

9. Einmánuðr (one month?). This month had the same name among the old Scandinavians as it now has among the Icelanders. Later it was called by the Danes Faremaaned, the

Month of movements, expeditions, &c. In olden times it had also the name of Asturmånad among the Swedes, who adopted the name, no doubt, from English missionaries, the vernacular Anglo-Saxon name for it being Eostre or Eastermonaƀ, the Eastermonth or month of the Paschal Cycle.

10. Harpa *i. e.* Harp, Gaukmánuƀr, the Cuckoo-month, or Sáƀtíƀ, Seedtide. Scandinavian generally Mai in various corruptions, which are supposed by some to have reference to Meyja, Scand. Mö, a May or Maiden, to which conjecture the Old German name of it, Uuinne-, Wunne- or Wonnemanoth, month of love and delight, seems to give support. Anglo-Saxon Trimilchi, Thricemilking month; the month when cows were milked three times a day.

11. Skerpla, perhaps connected with skorpinn, the droughty month, also called eggtíƀ, Eggtide, and stekktíƀ, Lambfolding Month, from stekkr, a lamb-fold. Dan. Skjærsommer, the sheer, bright summer month, Norw. Gro, the Growing-month, the month of fertility. Swed. Starbrak, from starr, bent-grass (carex), and bräcka to break, the breaker of bent-grass, the charring month of drought. Anglo-Saxon, anciently Weydmonaƀ, later Sear-monaƀ, the dry month, also Lida (aerra-Lida) the month of shipping and sailing, or as others hold, but I do not, the mild month.

12. Sólmánuƀr, the Sunny month, or Selmánuƀr, the month when the milking stock is kept away from home at mountain dairies, Sel, Norw. Sæters; a more recent popular name is maƍka mánuƀr, the month of grubs, which at this season especially infest fish hung up to be dried. Dan. Madkemaaned, Swed. Höant, cpr. Icel. heyannir, and Hömånad, the haymaking month. Anglo-Saxon Heg-monaƀ and Mædmonaƀ, which is explained to mean the month when cattle were allowed to feed in the fields mown. But may not the name be more plausibly connected with *madu*, the Anglo-Saxon for a maggot?

At the end of this month came in the four extra days, the

so-called *aukanætr*, eke nights—night, as we have seen before, taking in chronological style precedence of day with the old writers, as winter takes precedence of summer.

I do not mean to infer by this list of the Icelandic months that this order was the same among the Scandinavians and the Anglo-Saxons. No doubt the order varied in various countries. But I have added the old names of the months to the Icelandic to shew the general similarity of principle on which the names are formed; and without entering into any comparative discourse on the subject, which would be out of place here, it must be allowed that this similarity, one might really say identity, is very striking.

Some of the names of the Icelandic months go back to mythic antiquity. In the account given in *Flateyjarbók* I. 22, of how Norway was found, the historian sets about relating the story of it in the following manner: "Now must be told the story how Norway was first found, and how the races of kings sprang up there, as well as in other lands; and also why they are hight Skjöldungs, Budlungs, Bragnings, Ödlings, Völsungs or Niflungs, from whom the kingly races have sprung. There was a man, named Fornjot, who had three sons, one called Hler, another Logi, the third Kári; he ruled the winds, while Logi ruled fire and Hlèr the sea. Kári was the father of Jökul, who was the father of king Snow; but the children of king Snow were these: Þorri, Fönn (Snowdrift), Drífa (Snowfall) and Mjöll (Snow). Þorri was an excellent king, and ruled over Gothland, Kvenland and Finland. The Kvens worshipped him for making plenteous snow, in order that they might have a good snow-skid travelling, which is their good year; the sacrifice should be at mid-winter, and afterwards that season was called the month of Þorri. King Þorri had three children. His sons were called Norr and Gorr (cpr. Gormánuðr), but his daughter was hight Goe. Goe ran away from home, and Þorri had his sacrifice a month later than he was wont to

sacrifice. They afterwards called the month, which then began, Goe."

Perhaps this account really preserves an ancient tradition of the barbarous Scandinavian immigrants having borrowed from the far more civilized aborigines, the Fins and other allied races, a certain number of the technical terms by which the more prominent features of the winter season were computistically designated.

It may not perhaps be altogether void of interest, in connection with a calendar which in the present day turns up to bear witness to the old heathen year of Scandinavia, to notice some of the more prominent of the heathen festivals.

In the beginning of the domestic year fell the universally observed sacrifice to Frey, the god of fertility, which lasted for many days. Some of the more prominent points in the cultus of this god were the following. The festivity was always numerously invited to by the priest, or the temple-owner, and numerously attended. The animal, which plays the most prominent part at the sacrifice, is the boar, sónar göltr, the propitiating, atoning boar, which was sacrificed on the occasion. The hilarity of the high tide is kept alive by the ale, a never-failing element in heathen worship. To other points connected with the cultus of this god we have some clue in later popular observances in Norway and Sweden, where his worship was especially observed. In Norway even to a late date it was the custom to bake bread at this time representing various figures of animals, among which the horse was the most prominent. It was called the Helhest; the Hell-steed on which Frey had ridden to the hell, *i. e.* the depths of the winter solstice, and now appeared in victorious glory again. In Norway and Sweden it was long a universal custom to set up an evergreen tree, a pine or a fir, at this time in the villages or towns; later the custom would have one set up by the entrance to the house; later still, the tree entered the house

itself where, at Christmas, it figures now in all Teutonic countries under the name of jólatrè, Juletræ, Christbaum and Christmas tree.

About the middle of winter, that is, at an equidistance between the winter solstice and the vernal equinox, was held the *þorrablót*, which has been mentioned before. That must have been a sacrifice derived from people to whom a good year was plenty of snow to make sliding on snow-skids good, and thereby the prospects of hunting favourable. It is evidently a festival which owes its origin to a Northern hunting race.

On the 1st of Feb. the Swedes used to observe a great festival at Upsala, called *disting* = dísa þing, or dísablót. It was the great sacrificial festivity of the year hallowed to the goddesses in heathen times.

On the 2nd of February were anciently observed all over the pagan North certain rites, connected with the worship of fire. In some places the toast or bumper of the fire was drunk by the whole family kneeling on their knees round the fire, who at the same time offered grain and beer to the flames on the hearth. This was the so-called Eldborgs skål, the toast of fire-salvage; a toast which was meant to avert for the coming year disasters from fire. Fire- and sun-worship mingled together, no doubt, in the observance of this feast; for where it was most religiously observed, among the Swedes, it was called *Freysblót*, and was a very great affair. In early Christian times, only wax candles which had received the blessing of the priest were burnt in the houses of the people in the evening. Hence Candlemas.

On the beginning day of the month Goe there was a great sacrifice observed in Sweden called *Góeblót* or höfutblót, accompanied by much pageantry and festive observances.

By the beginning of the spring month, Harpa (corresponding to the later part of April and prior part of May) a sacrifice was anciently held called *sumarblót*, summer sacrifice, or more

frequently blót móti sumri, sacrifice against, *i. e.* to meet summer.

On the day of this month which corresponds to May 1, great festivities were held formerly in Scandinavia, especially in Denmark, for the purpose of welcoming summer, the most significant of which was a procession of peasants on horseback decked with twigs and branches and flowers, which was called "riding Summer into town."

On the 21st of June, or the day of the summer solstice, a great sacrifice was observed all over the heathen North, called Miðsumarsblót, and mostly in the open air. In Christian times the celebrations were transferred to St John's day, and in the more remote parts of the North some shreds of the old observances are still traceable. In Iceland people club together for picnicking excursions during the night between the 23rd and 24th, which formerly was called Jóns vaka, the vigil of St John. In some parts, bathing during the night takes the place of other amusements. Throughout Scandinavia, in the olden time, bonfires were lit during this night, and people gathered together from neighbouring countrysides for merrymaking round these fires; and that custom is still observed in parts of Norway and Sweden, but most religiously in Finland. The origin of these bonfire festivities at midsummer lies deep down in the mythic age. It is the myth of Balder's bale-fire which thus lives on still at the present day.

About the autumnal equinox a great and general festivity was observed throughout the pagan North, dedicated to elves and goddesses. This sacrifice had no doubt chiefly reference to the guardian spirits of the land (landvættir, landwights), who stood in close relation to the harvest, and were at the same time intimately connected with the families to whom the lands yielding their harvest belonged. When Christianity came in, these festivities migrated from the equinoctial day to St Michael's day, a week later. Observances are still met with

all over the North about this time in the shape of Christian harvest-home festivities.

On the 14th of October was observed with great and varying solemnities the first day of winter. And to this day the old traditions survive in various shapes throughout the North.

On the 23rd was another sacrifice, the so-called Winter-night sacrifice, observed certainly in Iceland, and probably throughout Scandinavia as well. This sacrifice seems to have been for Freyr especially, as the god of fertility and fruitfulness. The Sagas mention this sacrifice very frequently.

III.

In connection with the question, what the probable date of this calendar may be, it is well, first, to call attention to the feasts and Saints' days which are contained in it, and to the emblems attached to them, so far as I have been able to make anything of them.

1. The emblem of Christmas Day, Dec. 25, closely resembling that given to this day in Northern clog almanacks generally, is taken to mean trays or dishes provided with Christmas fare.

2. The emblems for St Stephen's (A.D. 33), St John's, and Holy Innocents' days, Dec. 26th, 27th, and 28th, are all identical or nearly so, and I fail to see what they may be meant to indicate. Generally St Stephen's day has for emblem on northern runic staves a fleam or a lancet, to note the day as the most auspicious in the year for bleeding horses, which in the old times was supposed to preserve them from disease during the ensuing year. St John's has generally an eagle for emblem, while Holy Innocents' day is marked by a sword indicative of Herod's murder of the Innocents at Bethlehem.

3. In consequence of the 31st of December being omitted, the Octave of the Lord's Nativity falls on the 2nd of January. The emblem for this day represents a bell, significant of the

holy season of Christmas coming to an end, when Yule was "rung out." I have put against the day its common ecclesiastical title; to which, however, the emblem has no reference.

For the same reason that the octave of Christmas falls here on the 2nd of January, Epiphany or Twelfth Night falls on the 7th instead of the 6th. The emblem, again a bell, signifies that on this day the festive season of Christmas terminated, and was "rung out." It was, in all probability, owing to the very omission of the 31st of Dec. that on this day, anciently, the so-called Eldbjargarmessa, or feast of fire-salvage, was observed in the North; the name is still given to the 7th of Jan. in Icelandic almanacks. The name signifies, that on this day the Yule-fires, which had been kept alive from Christmas Day, were put out. On that day the festivities came to an end, and the Christmas guests took their departure. From Tellemarken in Norway a tradition is preserved illustrative of the customs which were observed on this particular day, in the olden time, in commemoration of the victory which the bright and warming Sun had won over the dark and cold winter. The mistress of the house entered the room where round the fire burning on the hearth the household were seated, and took her stand before the fire, and from a bowl of beer which she carried in her hand she drank the fire's toast with this formula:

So high my fire,
But neither higher nor yet hotter.

Then the company, seated on the floor, drank the fire's toast in the following manner: the beer-bowl was placed between their legs on the floor, and each one had to take it up with his teeth and empty it and then throw it over his head so that it came down behind him. If the bowl came down bottom upmost the thrower's was a forfeited life, and he must die within the ensuing year.

4. Whether the sign against the 11th of Jan. is, in consequence of Dec. 31 being omitted, meant really for the 10th

and thus for Paul the first Hermit (circa A.D. 287), or for St Hyginus, to whom 11th Jan. belongs, I would not venture to decide, as the emblem itself gives no clue even to its own meaning.

5. Again, whether the 14th of Jan. here is really meant for the 14th, or, in consequence of the oft-mentioned omission of Dec. 31, for the 13th, or St Hilary's day, might seem doubtful. I am inclined to think, however, that the rune-carver meant by the emblem to signify the 20th day after Christmas Day, irrespective of the day of the month, because the emblem seems to agree with that which is generally found against this day on Northern rune-staves, indicating logs of firewood. This day was a great festivity very early among the Northern nations, and it seems that beacon-fires were lit on it in commemoration of the Yule season. Indeed it seems that in Sweden the Yule season lasted for 20 days from Christmas. The name of this day was, as early as the 12th century, known in the North as Geisladagr, or Beamday, a name of uncertain origin. It might be supposed that it drew its origin from beacon fires lit on that day; or that the name was really gisladagr, day of hostages, gisl = hostage, from heathens and Christians, spending Yuletide together, having given mutual hostages for the ensurance of mutual peace, to be exchanged on the last day of the festivities. Some have connected the name with gisl or gils, the name of one of the horses of the Æsir, enumerated in Edda (Sn. E. I. 70), or with Gler, a name of another of the Æsir's horses, and found in the latter a parallelism to the German *Glaristag*. But with neither of these horses is a myth connected to warrant the inference, and Glaristag is clearly nothing but a gutturalized corruption of Hilariustag, or Hilaristag.

6. The emblem for St Henry's day, Jan. 19th, should, and probably does, mean a ship with rowers seated alternately along either gunwale. St Henry, the Apostle and patron of Finland, suffered martyrdom 1150, and was canonized 1158.

7. The Conversion of St Paul, Jan. 25th, has an emblem to it, which seems to be significant of two persons. It appears to represent a sword, the common emblem of the apostle, as the persecutor of the Christians, or as having been beheaded by a sword, and combined with it a bow, the emblem of Paul the archer, Páll Skyttari, a mighty warrior, of whom Northern legends tell, that he would fight dauntlessly through the first half of the day, but spent the latter half of it in devotions.

8. The Feast of the Purification of the Virgin Mary, or Candlemas, Feb. 2nd, has a branch-candelabrum for emblem, indicative not only of the old custom of illuminating churches on that day, but also of consecrating on that day the wax-candles which were to be used in the church, and of consecrating also for lay folk wax-candles which they used to keep in their own houses for the purpose of driving away the baneful influences of evil spirits.

9. St Sigfrid's day, Feb. 15th, shows his usual emblem, a sword. St Sigfrid was one of the early missionary bishops of Sweden. Died about 1030, and was buried at Vexiö; he was canonized in 1158.

10. St Peter's chair, 22nd Feb., is marked by an emblem, which seems to signify the cross on which tradition says the apostle suffered his martyrdom. But it might almost equally plausibly represent a key, which in runic staves and clog-almanacks is the common emblem of the day. Worm quotes, in his own Latin, this, as a common weather prognostic of the day:

> **In Petri cathedrâ glacie si stringitur unda,**
> **Non perit ante dies haec quater atque decem.**

11. The emblem of St Matthias' day, Feb. 24th, is probably meant for a hatchet or some similar instrument or weapon. Otherwise his emblems are a stone, an egg or three eggs, an axe, a fish, &c. The interpretation of the present sign seems to agree very well with the Saint's chief function

in relation to domestic and economic life which is expressed in the following weather prognostic of his day, as given by Worm in his *Fasti Danici:*

Matthias glaciem frangit, si invenerit illam,
Ni frangat, magis ut firma sit illa facit.

12. The emblem for St Gregory's day, March 12th (A.D. 604), is usually, either the figure of a schoolmaster with a rod beside him, or even the rod alone, and on Norwegian staves especially the figure of a crow. The sign in our calendar can hardly be meant for either, unless, indeed, it is a crow! The former sign is given to the Saint as the protector of schools and scholars. In a most instructive, but as yet only half finished, treatise by Mr Jón Sigurðsson in "Almanak hins íslenzka þjóðvinafèlags" for 1878, on feast-days and Saints' days, he mentions as a common Norwegian custom of old that, from the 1—12th of March, poor children, especially girls, used to dress in fantastic costumes and go begging from house to house, calling themselves Gregory's brides and Gregory's swains. A custom which, no doubt, sprang out of that fine legend of Bede's about Gregory and the blond British youths in the slave market in Rome.

13. The sign against the Annunciation of the Virgin, March 25th, as against every day assigned to her, signifies a triple crown, she being the thrice adored Regina Cœli.

14. The emblem for Tiburtius' day, April 14th (circa A.D. 174?), common in Norwegian and Swedish rune-staves, is meant for a budding tree. This day was formerly, and is still probably among the rural population, in Norway called the first day of summer, hence the emblem. How this day was observed is already mentioned, p. 83.

15. In runic staves the sign for St Mark's day, April 25th, is generally a cuckoo, indicative of the season having commenced for that harbinger of spring to make his appearance. It seems most probable that the emblem in our calendar is indicative of

a flight of these birds. But it is also possible that it may have reference to the rogation processions which took place on this day, called in the North the great Rogation-day, and that it may really signify a procession.

16. The emblem for St Philip and St James' day, May 1st, betokens here, no doubt, as generally, a sprouting beech-tree.

17. The sign for May 3rd, the Invention of the Holy Cross, is self-evident.

18. The sign against the 18th of May agrees with that which in Northern runic staves is given to St Eric, King of Sweden and Martyr, and signifies a crown, closed at the top, to distinguish it from the crown of the Virgin (coronâ superius clausa, ad distinctionem dierum D. Virginì deputatorum. Worm). St Eric was killed in 1160.

19. The emblem for St Eskill's day, June 12, is probably meant for an executioner's or a battle axe. St Eskill was one of the early missionary bishops of Sweden, and had chosen for his see Fors in Södermanland, when, on hearing that Blot-Sven or Sacrificing Sven, the Christian king Inge's own brother-in-law, had been chosen king for the purpose of supporting paganism against the innovating tendencies of king Inge, he hastened to a heathen sacrificial gathering at Upsala, where, at Blot-Sven's command, in reply to his remonstrances to the pagans, he was stoned about 1063.

20. If the emblem for St Botolph's day, June 17th (flor. A.D. 654), really is that which on Swedish runic staves is current for that day, it should mean an open book. But the one exhibited in our calendar seems scarcely to be capable of such an interpretation. Yet I know not what to suggest instead of it.

21. The emblem attached to June 22 is, without a doubt, I think, meant for the sword of St Alban, the protomartyr of England, A.D. 303. I have consequently put that Saint's name against the day in the unravelled calendar. In assigning this

day to the Saint this calendar agrees with the old English calendars, none of which agree with the Prayerbook in assigning June 17 to St Alban.

22. What the emblem for St John the Baptist's day, June 24th, may be meant to signify here I cannot pretend to settle. No doubt it refers to some of the multifarious out-of-door observances which in the North, as elsewhere, were connected with this the sunniest day in the year. Had the calendar been heathen I should have been inclined to connect the emblem with a Balder's temple. The usual emblem is a lamb on Swedish and Danish rune-staves, on Norwegian ones sometimes the image of the radiant sun on the top of a pole.

23. The sign for the day of St Peter and St Paul, June 29th, is generally a key, or a key and a sword combined. I much doubt whether the sign given to the day in this calendar is intended as a representation of either. Yet I have no suggestion to offer. One might almost be inclined to imagine that the emblems for June 24 and June 29 had interchanged by some chance, because that of the former, part of it at least, is rather suggestive of a key, while the latter might very well suggest a budding or flowering herb.

24. It is to be noticed, that the crown-emblem for the Virgin Mary given here to the 2nd of July betrays some peculiarities, by which it differs distinctly from the rest of the emblems of the Holy Virgin in this calendar. Chiefly in this, that the side-strokes to the main stem, which in the other emblems are very distinctly three on either side, are here only two on one side, and on the other three, but made as if the rune-carver was not certain whether there should be two or three; or that he had first made two, and afterwards added a third. This is all the more noticeable, as this is a very late feast-day in the Church. It was indeed originally instituted in 1263, by Pope Urban VI., in commemoration of the visit of the Holy Virgin to Elizabeth up in the moun-

tainous regions of Judea (Luke I. 39, 40). But it is quite certain that this festival did not come into common observance in the Catholic Church, least of all in the North, till after the council of Basel in 1431 had ordered, on the very ground of its sporadic and irregular observance, that it should be observed throughout the Western Church. And as a matter of fact it was not generally observed till some considerable time afterwards; in Iceland as late as 1472.

25. To July 15th being assigned in Church calendars the translation of St Swithun, I have entered his name against the day. But what the emblem may signify in connection with that saint I cannot suggest. It will be noticed that it is identical with that to which attention is called under No. 5 against the 14th of January.

26. The emblems given here to St Margaret's and St Mary Magdalene's days, July 20th and 22nd, are identical in form, and suggest a crown, lower in dignity than that of the Virgin Mary by two degrees. Generally the runic emblems are a rake in the one case, suggestive of hay-making work, a scale, or ladder, or a chair in the other, which probably refer to the legend of Mary Magdalene's assumption and reception by the Queen of the heavens.

27. The common emblem on Northern runic staves for St James' day, July 25, is a hat, or a pilgrim's staff: I do not see how the emblem in our present calendar can bear any interpretation in that direction at all. I cannot identify it either with any other of the known emblems of this Saint, such as a book, a wallet, a shell, or any combination of these.

28. The two feasts of St Olaf, the patron saint of Norway, July 29 and Aug. 3, are marked in the usual way, each with a battle axe. Olaf Haraldson became king of Norway 1015, and fell in the battle of Stiklastad, 1030. It is not uninteresting to notice, that in the date of the death of this Saint we have one more instance of current chronology being cor-

rected by astronomical science. From an eclipse of the sun which took place in the middle of the battle it has been verified to have taken place two days later than the calendar records it, or July 31st, 1030.

29. The emblem for St Lawrence's day, Aug. 10th (A.D. 258), represents, no doubt, the gridiron on which the legend says the Saint was roasted to death.

30. The common emblem for St Bartholomew's day, Aug. 24th, is a flaying-knife, with which, according to tradition, he was flayed alive. Possibly the sign here is meant for that instrument.

31. On Northern rune-staves the sign for St Giles' day, Sept. 1 (A.D. 725), is universally a pair of sheep-shears, and the sign here seems to represent a part of the instrument, the handle or the hole through which the shearer's finger is passed while working it.

32. The sign for the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, Sept. 14th, is no doubt meant for an elevated cross, but is, like so many emblems in the calendar, rude and unsuggestive in the extreme.

33. The general emblem on Danish rune-staves for St Matthew's day, Sept. 21st, is an angel, but on Norwegian and Swedish ones, a wood-axe, and in our calendar that may be what the emblem means, unless indeed it is meant for the leafy bough, for the cutting of which the axe was employed.

34. What may be meant by the sign for St Michael's day, Sept. 29th, I am unable to suggest. The common signs on Northern rune-staves are a trumpet, or a pair of scales; I do not discover either in the sign before us.

35. The common sign for St Francis' day, Oct. 4th (A.D. 1226; canon. 1228), on Swedish rune-staves is a fish and an open book, on Danish staves a cross. I see nothing of these in the sign in this calendar, and have no suggestion to offer as to its meaning.

36. Oct. 7th is the feast of the Swedish St Bridget, who was canonized in 1391. The emblem of the day is generally on Danish and Swedish staves a fuller's heckle or card, on Norwegian ones a bush, the former indicative of the commencement of the season when the domestic industry in woollen fabrics began, the latter of the bear preparing his lair for winter-dormitation. The emblem before us seems suggestive of none of these things. On the contrary, it seems to be a regular 15th century representation of a crown, and as such the most artistic, indeed strikingly so, of all the emblems in this calendar. And a crown is one of the attributes of St Bridget, with which she is frequently met in ecclesiastical art.

37. St Calixtus' Day, Oct. 14th, has from of old marked a turning-point in the season in the North; by the Norwegians it was called the first night of winter. It is with reference to this fact, no doubt, that the emblem given in the North to this day is peculiar to the North, being a mitten (with the thumb sticking out), suggestive of cold approaching, and this protection of the hand being required.

38. The common emblem for St Ursula, Oct. 21st (A.D. 383), in the North as elsewhere, is an arrow, or a couple of arrows. I think the emblem in our calendar is fairly suggestive of the latter.

39. The emblem of St Simon and St Jude, Oct. 28th, is appropriately suggestive of the ship, for which it is meant to stand, a ship with its mast rising from the middle.

40. Likewise, the emblem for All Saints' Day, Nov. 1st, which should represent a temple, seems only to suggest such.

41. The emblem for St Martin's day, Nov. 11 (A.D. 397), should be a goose (or a pig), but I cannot see the connection between the sign and the thing.

42. St Clement's day, Nov. 23rd (A.D. 100), has here, as usually, an anchor for an emblem, which Northern interpreters

of runic staves explain as indicative of ships being in harbour for winter quarters, cf. p. 33. And indeed the day corresponds well with the season, when shipping ceases in Scandinavia. This meaning of the anchor is still further borne out by the name given to this particular feast-day in early Northern (Swedish) Breviaries, where it is called Festum Terræ. This day is only one more instance, and an interesting one, of the singular manner in which legendary signs and types become accidentally associated with circumstances with which, in their origin, they had not the remotest connection. For the anchor of St Clement is, in Scandinavia as in Greece, in reality, the anchor with which attached to his neck the saint was cast into the sea, in evidence of which legend I content myself with adducing the following punning epigram out of the metrical Greek martyrology (Siberus, *Martyrol. metricum*):

Ὡς κλῆμα Χριστοῦ τῆς νοητῆς ἀμπέλου
Γέγονας, Κλήμη, οἶνον θεῖον προχέων.
Βληθεὶς ὁ Κλήμης εἰς βυθὸν σὺν ἀγκύρᾳ,
Πρὸς Χριστὸν ἥκει, ἄγκυραν τὴν ἐσχάτην.

43. The emblem for St Katherine's day, Nov. 25th (A.D. 307), is, no doubt, intended for her wheel, as

44. That for St Andrew's, Nov. 30th (A.D. 70), is meant for the cross which is the common attribute of that saint: only it assumes here the shape of the gallows.

45. On Northern runic calendars the emblem for St Nicolas' day, Dec. 6th (A.D. 326), is a bishop's staff. The one before us seems not altogether incapable of such interpretation, only there seems to be implied in it a good deal beside the staff; but what that may be, I am unable to divine.

46. The emblem against the 9th of Dec. is probably intended to signify the day of St Anne, the mother of the Virgin; and I think its real meaning may be a demi-crown, to signify the difference in dignity between mother and daughter. Otherwise the day's emblem is generally a pot or tankard,

indicative of beer being brewed on this day for consumption during the ensuing Christmas time. As early as A.D. 1425 we find this feast officially sanctioned for Denmark at a provincial Synod at Copenhagen: Item statuimus quod festum Sanctæ Annæ matris genetricis Dei beatæ Mariæ quolibet anno in crastino conceptionis ejusdem beatæ Mariæ virginis per totam nostram provinciam in posterum celebre habeatur. Hardouin, *Concilia*, Tom. VIII.; inofficially it had been current in the Northern Churches, no doubt, for a long time before this date, as it had been from very early times both in the Eastern and the Western Church.

47. Against the 15th of Dec. is a sign of which I can make nothing, nor can I even mention a Saint to whom a Northern calendar would assign such a conspicuous attribute on Dec. 15th. But St Lucy, Dec. 13th (cca A.D. 304), who is a well-known saint in Northern calendars, having no place in this one, possibly the emblem intended for her might have been misplaced by two days by the rune-carver; and yet it is difficult to see how the emblem here can mean either the cloven foot of an ox, or a flaming fire, or a blazing torch, all of which are met with as St Lucy's emblems in the North. Anyhow, whatever the emblem before us may mean, it is, if it is a saint's emblem, misplaced; if it is an emblem of domestic or economic import, I confess I know not what it may be meant for.

48. The last saint's day in our calendar is that of the Apostle Thomas, Dec. 21st; the emblem represents, I think without doubt, a wheel, indicative of the orb of the sun turning the solstice point, which is the emblem for this day met with most frequently on the earliest rune-staves of Sweden. Otherwise the emblem of the day, especially among Norwegians, is a large jar, and in domestic parlance the saint figures as Thomas the Brewer, Thom o' the pot, which refers of course to the beer-consumption of Yule-tide.

From this list of Saints' and feast-days it will be seen,

that the local saints all belong to the Swedish Church, with the exception of St Olaf, who, though a Norwegian saint properly, is a common Scandinavian saint, and as such really as much Swedish as Norwegian. The nationality of the local saints settles the nationality of the calendar. And the present is, without doubt, of Swedish origin. In order to get an idea of the age of the calendar it is necessary to ascertain the latest dates of the saints contained in it, local and general. Of the local saints the dates are: St Olaf 1031, St Eskill 1063, St Henry 1158, St Sigfrid 1158, St Eric 1160, and—St Bridget 1391. Of the general saints the latest is St Francis, 1228. It is a point which must not be overlooked, that from 1160—1390, or for a period of 230 years, not one local saint has found a place in this calendar, although that period is rich in saints, some of which enjoy the adoration of the whole Western Church. As I said before, the sign for St Bridget's day is a distinct 15th century sign both as to the type of the crown and the execution of it. But no other sign in this calendar could be placed so far down in time. And I cannot help thinking that the crown of St Bridget was added to the calendar a long time after it was first carved. For how could a calendar of the 15th century leave out such saints, *e.g.*, as St Thomas of Canterbury, 1170, who enjoyed at that very time perhaps higher adoration in the North than any other saint? It also would be something very incongruous to see a 15th century calendar without giving St Benedict a day in it, houses of whose rule abounded throughout Sweden. It is to no purpose to swell the enumeration of omitted famous saints; the list would be too long, but no more convincing through its greater length. But it is worth while to notice that a runic calendar, printed in Worm's *Fasti Danici* from a vellum dating from 1328, contains no less than 171 saints' days, while this has only 50; for it will, as a rule, hold good, that the fewer the saints' days, the older is the calendar.

Just as the crown of St Bridget, so also the crown of the Virgin, attached to July 2nd, or the Visitation day, is, in my opinion, of a later date than the rest of the emblems in the calendar. I have called attention to the deformed shape of the crown-emblem, and it seems to me evident that the same hand could not have wrought it at the same time with the rest of the Virgin's crowns. It is, surely, of a much later workmanship, for earlier it cannot under any circumstances be. I cannot help associating the emblems of July 2nd and Oct. 7th with a period much later than that of the rude primitive rest of the signs in this calendar, and indeed a far later period. From St Anne's day, no other inference could be drawn than that the calendar is a fourteenth century production.

Considering the heathen tradition preserved in this calendar in the number of days given to the year, and in the date given to the commencement of the year, in which it stands unique; and bearing in mind that from the interval between 1230 and 1390, *i.e.* out of 160 years rich in famous local and famous general saints, not one should be recorded here; that saints of universal adoration in the Catholic Church, such as St Thomas of Canterbury, St Benedict, &c., should not have a place here; we cannot escape referring it to an age when it may be fairly supposed, that these heathen traditions were still believed in by at least some considerable number of the community. There is nothing improbable in their having been in common vogue in the 13th century, but there is every improbability against their being commonly alive at the end of the fourteenth century. And as I am convinced that St Bridget's crown is of different date and artistic treatment to every other sign in this calendar, I feel inclined to assign to the calendar an earlier date than 1391. But anterior to 1230 it cannot be; long posterior to that date, however, I scarcely think it can be, all things considered.

This must be a layman's calendar, since it exhibits no golden numbers, and gives, consequently, no clue to the paschal

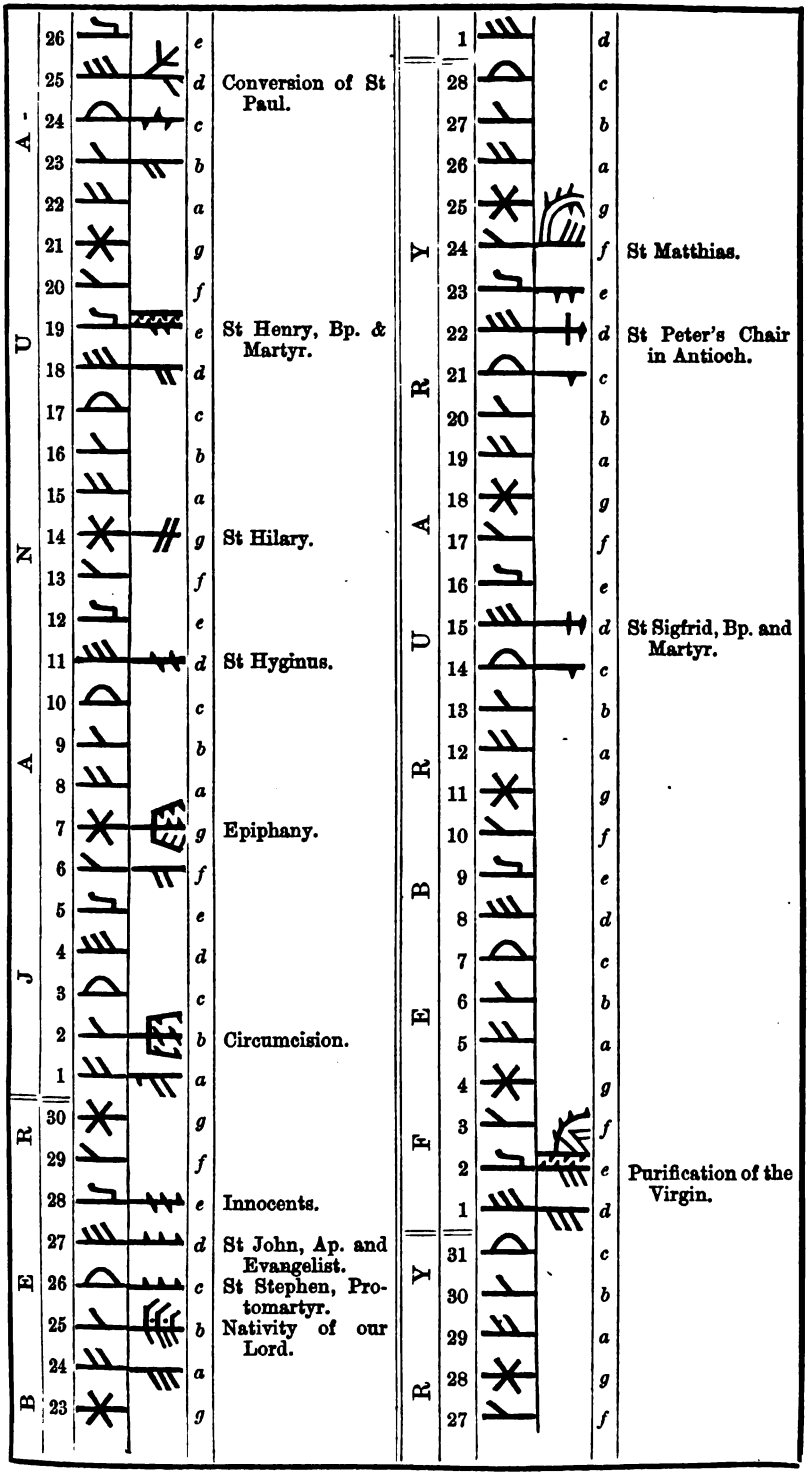
cycle or the moveable feasts. It is a very valuable piece of antiquity, and ought to be well taken care of.

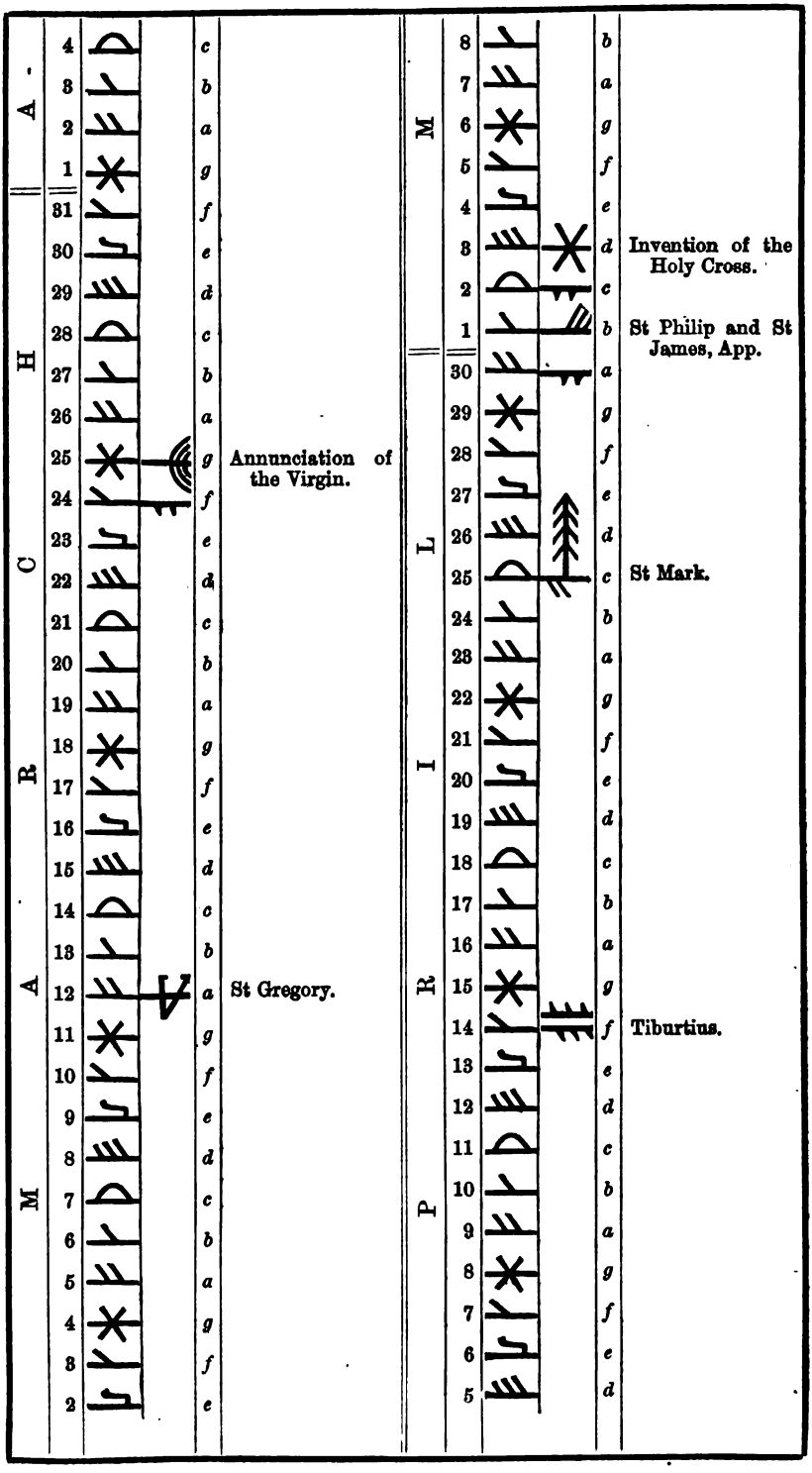
P.S. It is, perhaps, not a mere chance that it should have fallen to the lot of Thorstein the Swarthy to correct the Icelandic Calendar. He descended from a family which had been once settled in Ireland, and had extensive connections in that country as well as in the Hebrides and Scotland. His great grand-parents were Oleif the White, king of Dublin, and Aud the Deepminded, the latter of whom, after various vicissitudes, came to Iceland "a good Christian," about A.D. 892. She "performed her prayers at Cross-Knolls," says Landnáma; that means, that she had her Breviary, and must have had in it some clue to the moveable feast-days of the year. The family continued to be Christian after its settlement in Iceland, so there is every probability of Aud's Christian Library having remained, at least in statu quo, in the family, even if it did not multiply in copies, considering the unlettered state of the country at the time. When a computistic puzzle arose of such a nature as was the Icelandic which Thorstein the Swarthy had to deal with, it was only too natural that those who had some acquaintance with the Christian computation of the year and its seasons should come forward, or be called upon, to settle the difficulty. Thorstein having undoubtedly been a Christian, it is no stretch of imagination to assume that, in consequence, he was able to give a partial solution of a question on which his Christian calendar would throw some light, at all events.

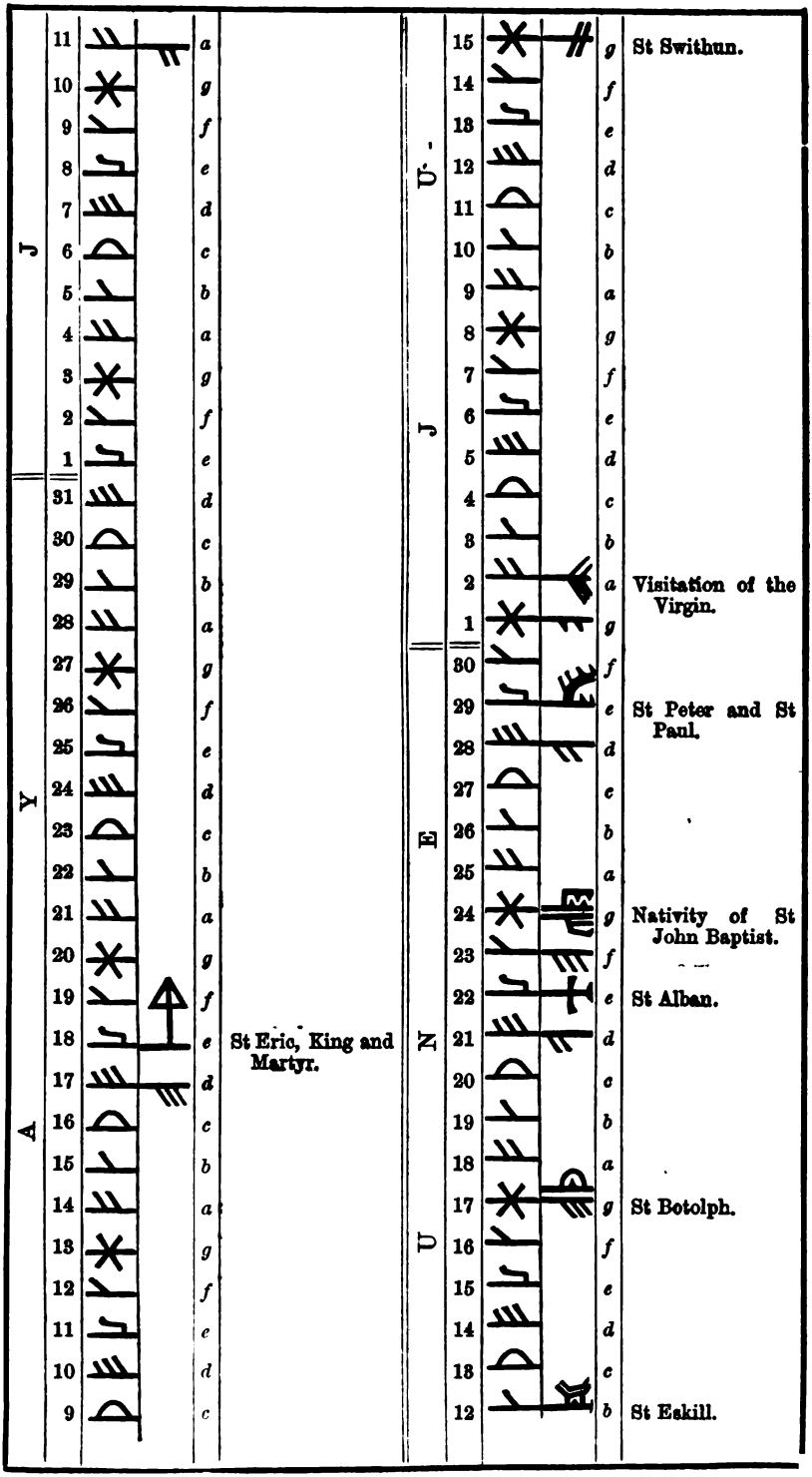
On the passage quoted above, p. 22, note [1], Mr Jón Thorkelsson, the Rector of the "Latin School" of Reykjavík, sends me the following valuable contribution: "As to the passage in Islendingabók, ch. 4, I agree with you, that in the old computation, according to which 364 days are counted in the year, no leap-years have a place. I venture not an opinion as to whether the words, At rétto tale ... to the end of the chapter

are by Ari himself or not. Certain it is, that they may go out without the thread of the narrative being disturbed in the least in consequence of their removal. The words, 'Enn þá es ayksk at oro tale et siaunda hvert at viku, en öngo at hino, þá verþa siau ór saman iamnlöng at hvórotveggia,' are inexact, in so far that the author has not included in his calculation the bissextile day or days which fall in every seven years; but taking four times seven, = 28, years with five 'sumaraukar,' and four times seven, = 28, years with 365 days each, and seven bissextile days, we find that both periods of 28 years are equally long; for 5 sumaraukar make 35 days, and 28 days + 7 bissextile days make 35 days; and both periods have thus 35 days beyond 28 years, each counting 364 days. Yet it is not certain that the author went to this depth into the matter; and the most probable thing is that he forgot to count the bissextile day or days.

"Then there remain the words, 'En es hlaupór verþa tvau á miþle þeira es auka skal, þá þarf auka et sétta.' Sense may also be made of these words, if it is assumed that Ari, or whosoever the author may be, counted the time as the Greeks and the Romans did. The Olympian plays were held every fourth year, but the Greeks say they were held every fifth year (*διὰ πέμπτου ἔτους*). Between the years on which the Olympian plays fell there always lapsed three playless years; these three years the Greeks counted, and, beside, the year preceding and the year succeeding them, and in this way they got five instead of four years. Between *nonæ* and *idus* with the Romans there were in reality eight days, but the Romans counted them as nine, whence nonæ. The same method of calculation Ari has, in all probability, followed. He has included in his calculation the 'Sumarauka'-years on both sides of the years which had no 'Sumarauki,' the consequence is that he mentions the *sixth* instead of the *fifth*. The period, then, is five years. Five times 365 days + 2 days = 1827 days; and five times 364 days + 7 days = 1827 days."


JANUARY
FEBRUARY
MARCH
APRIL
MAY
JUNE
Conversion of St Paul.
St Henry, Bp. & Martyr.
St Hilary.
St Hyginus.
Epiphany.
Circumcision.
Innocents.
St John, Ap. and Evangelist.
St Stephen, Protomartyr.
Nativity of our Lord.
St Matthias.
St Peter's Chair in Antioch.
St Sigfrid, Bp. and Martyr.
Purification of the Virgin.


M A R C H — A P R I L M A
Annunciation of the Virgin.
St Gregory.
Invention of the Holy Cross.
St Philip and St James, App.
St Mark.
Tiburtius.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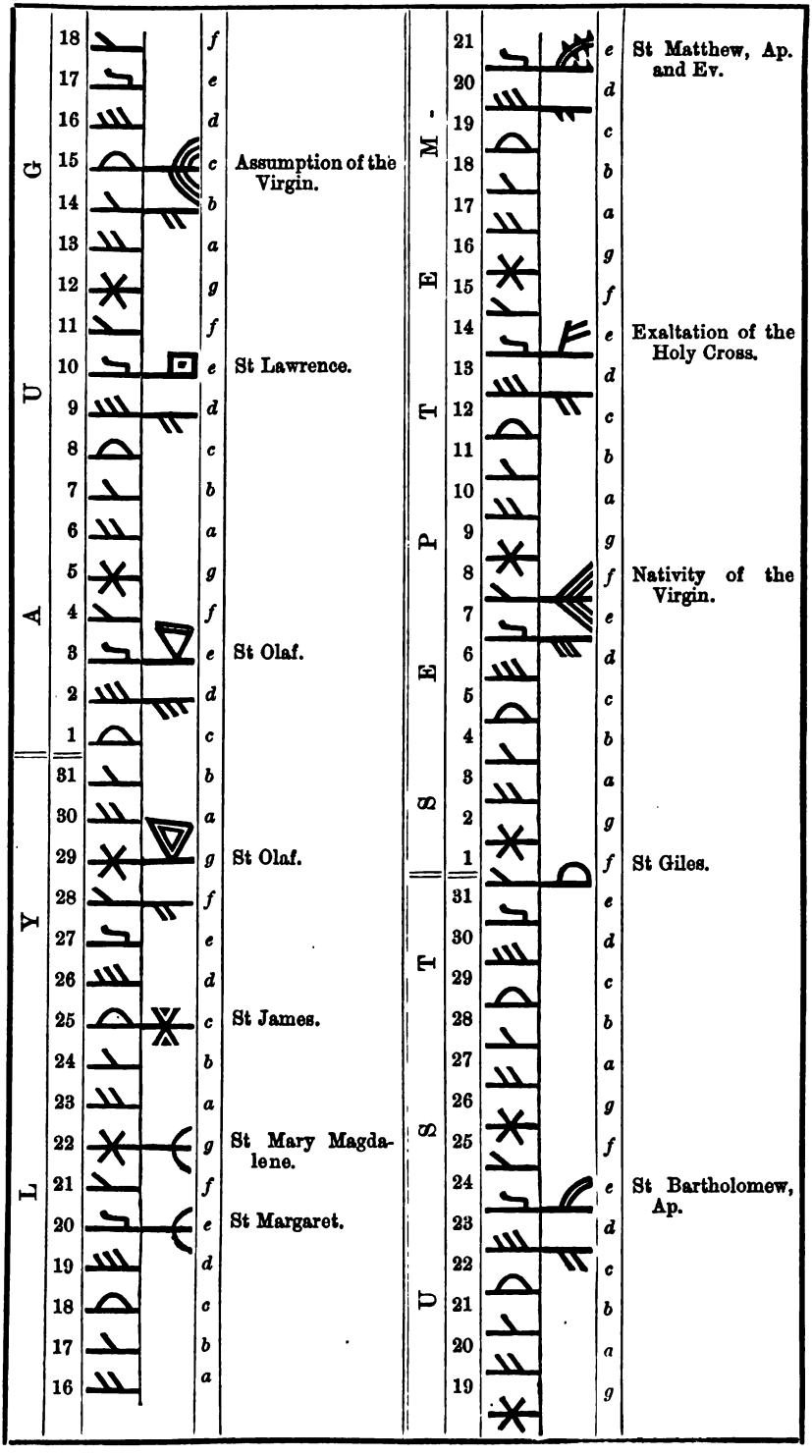
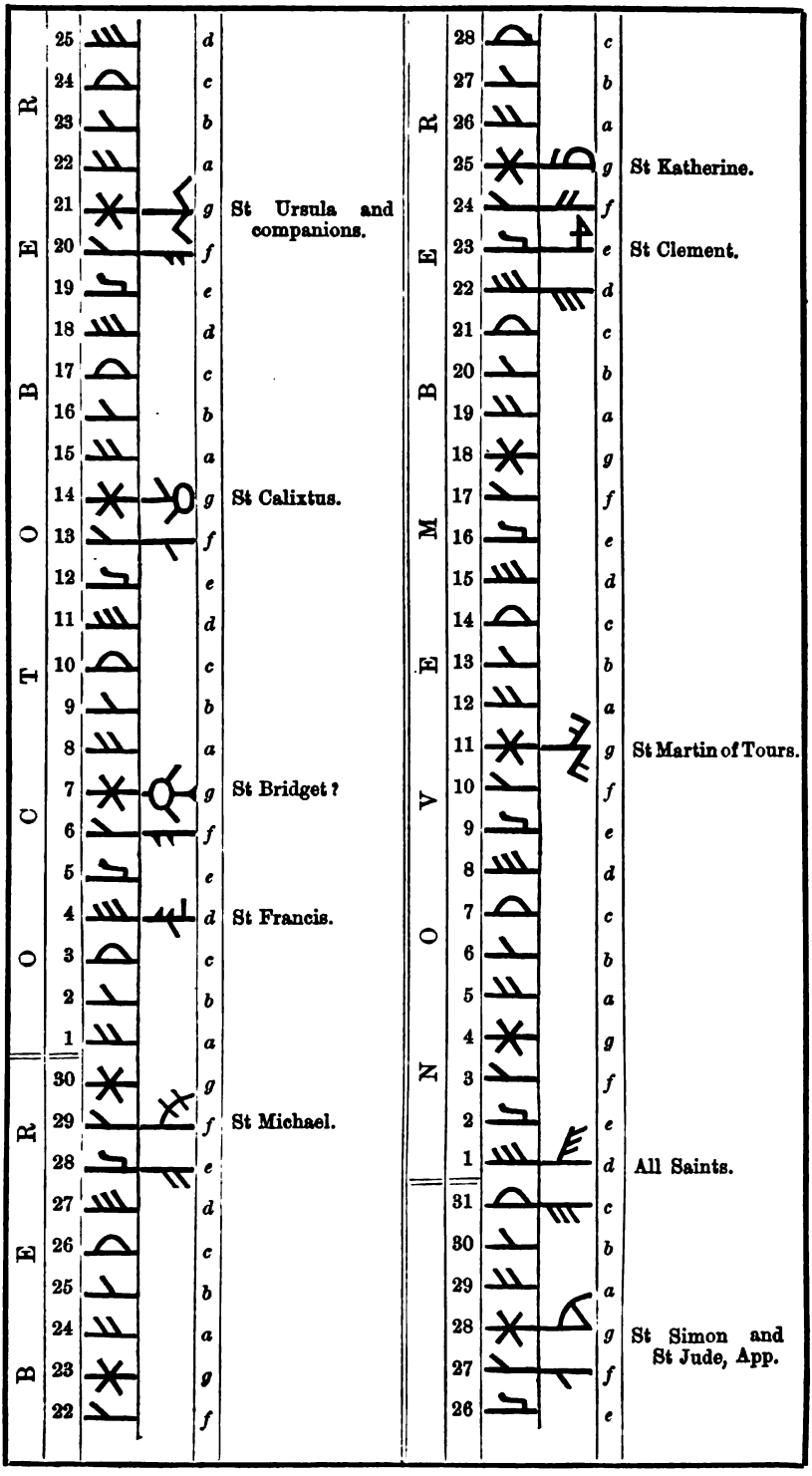
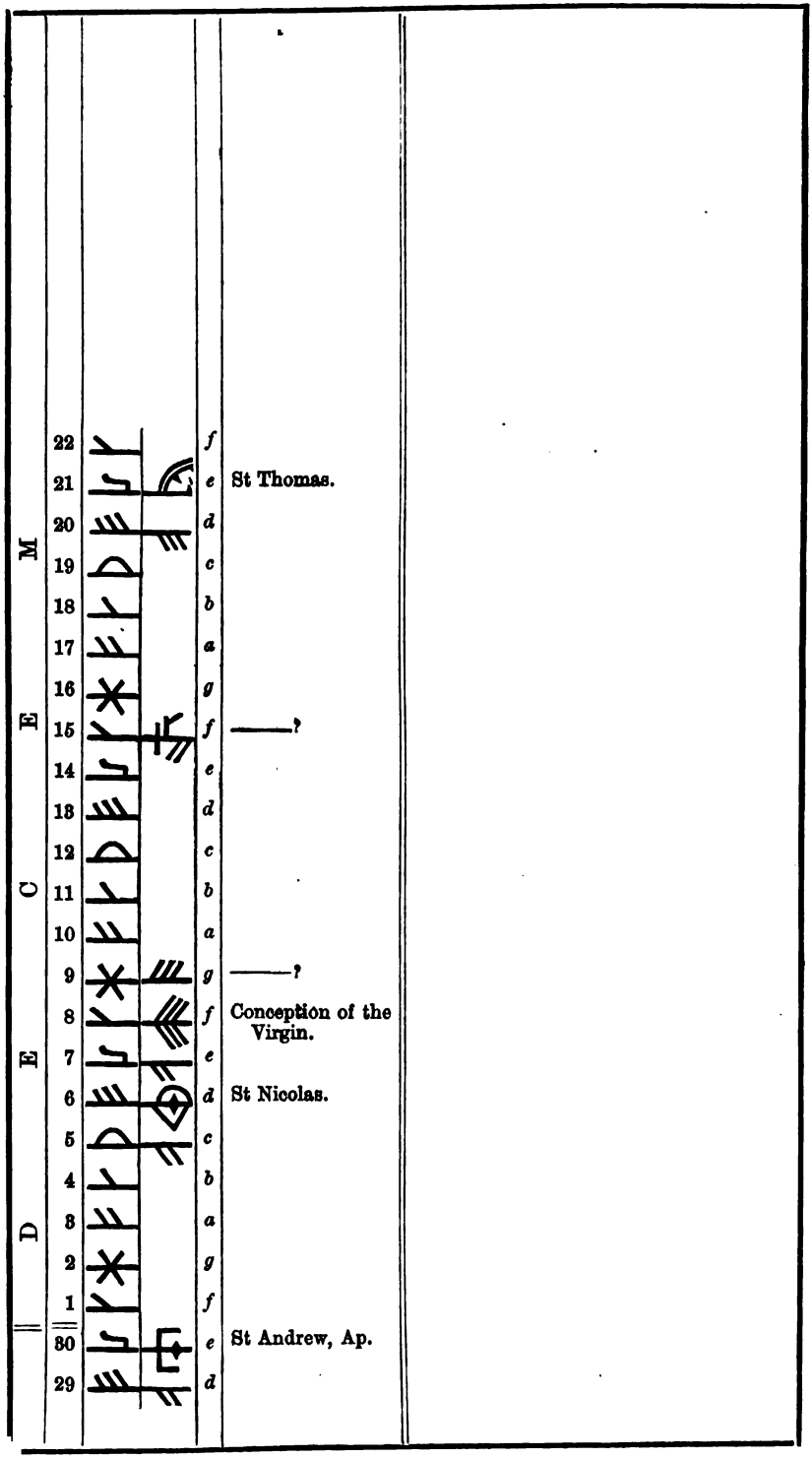
St Eric, King and Martyr.
St Swithun.
Visitation of the Virgin.
St Peter and St Paul.
Nativity of St John Baptist.
St Alban.
St Botolph.
St Eskill.


AUGUST
SEPTEMBER
OCTOBER
Assumption of the Virgin.
St Lawrence.
St Olaf.
St Olaf.
St James.
St Mary Magdalene.
St Margaret.
St Matthew, Ap. and Ev.
Exaltation of the Holy Cross.
Nativity of the Virgin.
St Giles.
St Bartholomew, Ap.


OCTOBER
NOVEMBER
BEER
St Ursula and companions.
St Calixtus.
St Bridget?
St Francis.
St Michael.
St Martin of Tours.
St Katherine.
St Clement.
All Saints.
St Simon and St Jude, App.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St Thomas.
——?
——?
Conception of the Virgin.
St Nicolas.
St Andrew, Ap.

VI. On some Recent Discoveries in Grantchester Church. Communicated by the Rev. F. G. Howard, M.A., Trinity College.

[May 28, 1877.]

The recent demolition of the south wall of the nave of Grantchester Church has revealed to us something of its early history. Before proceeding however to describe the various things that have been found in the south wall, I will just mention two points of interest, that the recent alterations have revealed in the north wall; one is the rood staircase, which is unusually large and singularly well preserved, though the lower doorway and the lower part of the splay of the upper doorway have unhappily been cut away: the other is a portion of a painting of St Christopher, which was probably executed about the end of the 15th century.

In recent times Grantchester Church has consisted only of chancel, nave and tower, without either aisles or transepts. The nave walls were coated with plaster and contained scarcely any architectural features except the windows, which were of the Perpendicular period. But though all the windows were of the same style, it had always been conjectured that the walls were of two different dates, as the westernmost portion of each wall was thinner than the rest. On removing the plaster this conjecture was confirmed by the fact that the materials of the two parts of the wall differed: the westernmost part being built

of clunch, and the other part being built of flint, pebbles &c. for two-thirds of its height, with a top of clunch. It would thus seem that at some time or other the nave was heightened and lengthened. The approximate date of this change was decided by the discovery of an Early English lancet window on each side of the church in the thinner portion of the wall; and the next point of interest was to determine the date of the older portion. This was done by the very interesting discovery of a small round-headed window near the top of the rubble wall. The window had never been glazed, and is evidently of very early date: it is supposed by Mr Blomfield to be of the early part of the 11th century, or else very early Norman. Moreover the sides of a Norman doorway were discovered, extending from which was a long cavity used probably for sliding back the door-bar. This is, as far as I know, an unusual feature in churches, though common enough in castles. By the side of this doorway were fragmentary remains of a stoup, apparently a later insertion.

The materials of which the two portions of the wall were built also afford an indication as to their date, for amongst the clunch were several voussoirs of a Norman arch with zigzag roll moulding, some pieces of Norman chain moulding and also some corbels with rudely cut grotesque heads; whereas in the rubble wall all the things that were found were apparently of much earlier date. First amongst these I may mention two pieces of a Roman millstone made of Niedermendig lava, and also portions of tiles ornamented in the customary Roman manner, and which were apparently fragments of square flue-pipes. But what were of most frequent occurrence in the rubble wall were fragments of stone coffins. These were used for the coins of the walls, for the sides of the Saxon or Norman window, and for the doorstep. They are made of Barnack stone such as was used by the Romans, and if they were placed where they now are in Norman times, they must be Roman,

as stone coffins were not used by the Saxons. If this should be so, it would be interesting as reminding us of the story told by Beda that when Etheldreda of Ely died, the monks sought in vain for a stone in which to place her remains, till at length one of exactly the right size was miraculously discovered under the walls of the ruined city of Grantchester. Probably the coffins stood then above ground on pedestals as they do in the present day at the Roman cemetery at Arles, and so they would be handy for the monks in search of a coffin, and for the builders of Grantchester Church in search of stones.

P.S. Since the above paper was read the cap of a shaft has been discovered in the churchyard wall, and it is found exactly to fit the shaft of the Norman doorway in the south wall. The cap is cut out of the same stone as the main body of the work to which it was attached, and the stone which has been used is plainly the corner of a coffin.

ETRUSCAN BRONZE.

Spes Vetus.

¾rds of the original size.

ETRUSCAN BRONZE.

Spes Vetus.

⅜rds of the original size.

VII. On an Antique Statuette representing "Spes Vetus." Communicated by the Rev. C. W. King, M.A., Trinity College.

[May 28, 1877.]

An Etruscan Bronze has lately been brought from Rome by that indefatigable pioneer of archæology, Mr Lewis, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, which deserves particular attention, from the rarity of the subject, as well as the curiosity of its style. It was found at Grosseto in Tuscany in the summer of 1875, and represents a female figure, 8½ inches high from the soles of her shoes to the summit of her head-dress, clothed in a close-fitting tunic descending to the ankles, over which she wears a shorter one, reaching somewhat below the hips, closely pleated in front, but plain at the back. A heavy mantle completes the costume, thrown over the right shoulder, from which alone it hangs; though the usual adjustment is seen to be by means of a broad band, now passing across the chest and under the left arm: but the large circular fibula in the middle of this band, intended to lie *flat* upon the shoulder (as numerous examples of fully-dressed statues shew), indicates the mode in which this covering sat when in actual use. A curious thing is noticeable in the vertical fold marking the middle of this mantle: it clearly shews cross-stitching from top to bottom, a proof that it was formed out of two widths of cloth sewn together by the selvage. Particulars to be re-

marked in the costume are, the borders of each tunic decorated with a row of little circles made with the punch, standing for the embossed disks of gold so employed in the sumptuous garments of the time[1]; and again, the sleeves, open for their whole length, but looped together at short intervals by buttons, in the way that the garments of the Phrygian Atys are usually represented—a proof, were any wanted, of the *Asiatic* origin of the costume imitated by our artist from everyday life: the feet are covered with long and pointed shoes, the very counterparts of the "poleynes" worn by mediæval fashionables; and differing in every respect from the regular *chaussure* of Greek and Roman ladies[2]. Lastly, the luxuriant hair drawn back tightly from the face, and wreathed in massive tresses at the back of the head, is confined by an unusually lofty "sphendone," or crescent-shaped disk, ornamentally engraved, and which at once recalls those lunated gold plaques, commonly discovered in Ireland, and supposed to have decorated in a similar manner the heads of Celtic hierophants. The face has been finished with great care, but is devoid of all expression; whilst the oblique almond-shaped "Turanian" eye might afford grounds for deep ethnological speculations, were it not the constant feature in all archaic art.

The proportions of the figure, so painfully exhibited by her tightly-fitting dress, are attenuated in the extreme, and as it were flattened towards the waist. Something of this deformity may perhaps be due to the Etruscan ideal of female beauty, for Terence laughs at the Roman ladies of his day (with whom Etruria still continued the fountain-head of religion and of taste), for making their daughters, though naturally plump, "as slender as bulrushes by their training[3]." But as this

[1] Hence appropriately named "chrysopasta."

[2] They may, however, be seen upon the feet of the seated figure, on the reverse of a very rare tetradrachm of Rhegium, inscribed RECINOS.

[3] Tam etsi bonast natura, reddunt curatura junceam. Ter. *Eun.* II. iii. 24.

want of depth in the trunk is generally observable in the bronzes of this school, even when most out of place, as in their Hercules and their warriors, and as obesity seems to have been a national characteristic—

"Inflavit cum *pinguis* ebur Tyrrhenus ad aras,"

as Virgil[1] hath it—this so conspicuous deficiency of substance may be attributed in some measure to the mode of manufacture. All these small bronzes were made by the process for which there is no other technical name than the French, —expressive as are all their terms of art,—"jeter à cire perdue:" in which the wax model, perfectly finished off, is encased in the soft material of the mould, from which by the application of heat it is drawn away, leaving impressed upon the matrix the finest touches of the modeller's finger, to be exactly reproduced by the metal poured in to take its place. Now a wax model would have a tendency to be too much compressed in the middle, by which one would naturally hold it when finishing off the details, unless particular care were taken to avoid this danger: or perhaps, after all, economy of metal was the real motive for thus marring the work, as the deformity would not strike the eye in figures viewed only from the front. That the above-named method of casting was the only one used for all small bronze works of artistic merit, from those of classic date to the Cinque-cento and the Japanese of to-day, is clearly evident upon the inspection of their surface. Cellini, in his *Orificeria*[2], gives full directions for this way of casting, as applied when the minutest possible reproduction of the wax model was required; namely in the making of the great Episcopal seals of silver, at that time in fashion, in preference to the mediæval plan of cutting them entirely with the graver. From the soles of the shoes of our statuette project two stout "tangs," each 1½ inch long, designed for fixing it upon a wooden pedestal: they had, probably, served in the first instance, as the "gates,"

[1] *Georg.* II. 193.

[2] Cap. VI. towards the end.

or channels, for pouring the molten metal into the matrix. And it may here be observed, that the brown patina, which forms so uniform a coating over the whole work, is the sure indication of a large mixture of lead[1] in the alloy, introduced to render the metal more fusible and liquescent, and thereby better adapted for taking the faintest lines from the surface of the mould.

So much for form, costume, and workmanship—the idea embodied with so much care remains to be discussed, and here no difficulty is left by the expressive gesture and attributes of the image. In her right hand she holds forth the *bud* of a lily—more fitting symbol of *Hope* than the full-blown flower usually seen in her grasp—and with her left she slightly lifts the gown from her feet; the natural action of any one walking quickly in long garments, and hastening forwards to the accomplishment of a wish: there is no need to find in this simple gesture the highly transcendental sense that an acute German critic has lately discovered for himself.

Winckelmann has some remarks upon this type, full of valuable information, conveyed with his usual pregnant brevity, and well worth transcribing at length. Describing No. 1832 of Stosch's *Gems*, he writes: "*Plasma:* Hope, standing in front face, holding in her right hand a flower, her customary symbol. On other monuments we find given her wheat-ears and poppy-heads. This figure, as well as the three following subjects, is draped after the manner of those of the Etruscans, although none of them are in the style of that nation. It is possible that the kind of draping that we see upon them, and which is characterized by parallel folds, had been appropriated to the figures of Hope. In fact it is in the same taste as the clothing

[1] *Hist. Nat.* xxxiv. 20. Pliny's rule for the "formalis temperatura" of bronze, gives one-tenth lead and one-twentieth tin to be added to the copper: this alloy was the best suited for taking the "color Græcanicus," meaning probably the patina so much admired in the old works of Greek art.

we see upon the same goddess in a medal of Claudius, and of

Three antique gems[1], single figures of Hope (each twice the size of the original).

Philip the Arabian; as well as upon a statue of the Villa Ludovisi at Rome, which was not known to be a figure of Hope, because the inscription, which exists upon its base, had been covered with a coating of hardened earth and moss. It is as follows:

Q. AQVILIVS DIONYSIVS ET
NONIA FAVSTINA SPEM RES
TITVERVNT.

At Rome they distinguished the *ancient* Hope from the *modern:* doubtless they represented each after a different manner: that now before us may very well be the ancient one[2]."

The veneration that the Romans felt for this time-honoured statue may be estimated from the fact of the emperor Claudius placing an exact copy of it upon his coins; whilst all other deities, so employed, were represented after the prevailing fashion of the day. Even as late as Probus, this primitive figure of Hope still holds her ground upon the medals. And the long-continued belief in her power is shewn by a very remarkable fact. When Heliogabalus, alarmed by the growing popularity of his cousin, Alexander, had ordered his assassina-

[1] The first of these is from a *plasma* in the British Museum; the second from a *red sard* in the collection of the Rev. F. W. Short; the third from a *plasma* belonging to the Rev. R. H. Cave.

[2] Bernoulli in his exhaustive monograph "Aphrodite" (Leipzig, 1873) refers to the type before us as a transformation of the primitive Aphrodite into the Spes of Italian art.

tion, and as a preliminary sent wretches to throw mud at his statues (the regular mode of proclaiming any prince a tyrant), he himself retired to await in trembling suspense the news of the execution of his order, "to the Gardens of the Ancient Hope, as though to offer up his vows there against the upstart youth," as Lampridius tells us[1]. In his terror he fled for assistance to this primæval deity of Rome, having apparently lost faith in his own great god, the "Elagabal" of Emesa, whose miraculous intervention had raised him from an effeminate Syrian priest to be master of the world; and whose worship he had, in return, sought to make the one sole religion of mankind; incorporating therewith not only all the creeds of Paganism, but even the uncompromising "religion of the Jews and devotion of the Christians," as the same historian expresses it[2].

That "Spes Vetus" herself was an Etruscan work is evident from the copy which Claudius (whose one good point was his

Sesterce[3] (described below) of Claudius I.

[1] "Heliogabalus," XIII. 4.

[2] "Heliogabalus," III. 5. "Id agens ne quis Romæ deus nisi Heliogabalus coleretur. Dicebat præterea Judæorum et Samaritanorum religiones, et Christianam devotionem illuc transferendam, ut omnium culturarum secretum Heliogabali sacerdotium teneret."

[3] From the collection of the Rev. S. S. Lewis. On a sesterce (in the same cabinet) struck by Vespasian in 71 A.D.—the year when he rebuilt the Capitoline Temple and closed that of Janus—Hope similarly advances to meet the Emperor and offers him her flower. Engraved on p. 80. Of this same type the Museum at Copenhagen contains a noble statue in marble by Thorwaldsen.

love of archæology) has so kindly bequeathed to us. But *this* Hope, though of venerable antiquity in the days of the early Cæsars, was yet considerably more modern than the little figure before us. She has lost all the Asiatic parts of her costume—the head-ornament, buttoned sleeves, and pointed shoes. Her tunic is become more roomy, and is that regularly worn by the Roman ladies; its stiff parallel folds are not due to its nature, but to the inability of the art to represent the drapery as it really appeared. It is the work of the archaic school upon the decline, blighted by unfortunate accidents in the national history, and standing still for ever. As every thing at Rome, not preserved in the Capitol, had been destroyed by the Gauls, B.C. 390, the statue of "Spes Vetus" must necessarily have been a work of later date, and the school to which it belonged will be pointed out in what follows. It may have replaced one in wood of immemorial antiquity, destroyed in the general conflagration; just as the *bronze* Vertumnus, hereafter to be noticed, took the place of another of wood, attributed to the reign of Numa.

But even without such tangible evidence, those acquainted with the history of art know that she could have had no other origin, with Varro's express testimony before their eyes, that previous to the date when two *Greeks,* Demophilus and Gorgasus, were employed to decorate the temple of Ceres at the Circus Maximus with pictures and fictile bas-reliefs, every thing in temples was of Etruscan work, "Tuscanica omnia in ædibus:" meaning, as the context shews, the paintings, terra-cottas, and bronzes[1]. Of the last, the manufacture in Etruria's prosperous times had flourished to an incredible extent: for Pliny tells of the "*Tuscanica signa* dispersed all over the world[2]," as a testimony to this art having been "the ancient

[1] Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxxv. 45. Very provokingly he does not, as usual, give the date of this first infringement of the Etruscan art-monopoly.

[2] *Hist. Nat.* xxxiv. 16. He adds "which there is no doubt were manu-

boast of Italy:" and quotes Metrodorus Scepsius as making the Romans sack Volsinii (B.C. 266) merely out of greediness to possess the *two thousand* statues that decorated that wealthy town[1]. This number we may accept without the apparently so requisite "granum salis," if we recollect that these "statues" were, for the most part, what would now be called "statuettes;" for Pliny, in continuance, mentions that at a much later period of the Republic[2], the half-life size (*tripedanea*, specified in an honorary decree) was considered as constituting a memorial of unusual dignity. Had the same great historian of the arts only thought of this circumstance, he would not have been "surprised that previous to the conquest of Asia [that is, for the first six and a half centuries of the city] the figures in the Roman temples were for the most part of wood, or else of clay." In such materials alone were figures of life-size, or above life-size, then to be procured at *prices* at all compatible with the frugality of the early Republic. Of these Volsinian spoils[3], one still attracted admiration even in the critical Augustan age—the Vertumnus, bearing all the attributes of the changing seasons, and of man's various occupations, and preserving (by the inscription, doubtless, on its base) the memory of the artist Mamurius; to the minute description of which Propertius has devoted one of the prettiest of his poems. But, notwithstanding the generally miniature scale of their produc-

factured in Etruria," implying that Etruscan work, however far from home it might be found, would be recognised by its national character and style, to which the name "Tuscanica" was given, still preserved by the architecture.

[1] *Hist. Nat.* same chapter.

[2] *Hist. Nat.* XXXIV. 11. B.C. 231, in the case of the two envoys killed by Teuta, queen of Illyria. As this was 35 years after the sack of Volsinii, the fact affords a pretty strong evidence of the insignificant size of the statues acquired by that success.

[3] "Tuscus ego, et Tuscis orior, nec pœnitet inter
Prælia Volsinios deseruisse focos."

Propert. IV. (V.) ii. 3.

tions, the Etruscan statuaries were capable of the boldest flights; for Pliny still beheld the "Tuscan Apollo," a colossus of fifty feet in height, which then stood in the Palatine Library, of which "it was hard to say whether the metal or the workmanship were most to be admired." And the bronze platforms (petasi) of Porsenna's monument, supporting two tiers of pyramids of 75 and 100 feet respectively, upon an area of 500 feet square, must have demanded metallurgical skill for their construction greater than that involved in the making of the Menai Bridge[1]. But Etruria was the Birmingham of antiquity for all the states lying on the coasts of the Mediterranean and Ægean. Critias (the tyrant) and Pherecrates, contemporaries of Plato, allude to the superiority of the goldsmith's work, and of all bronze articles for domestic use, particularly the lamps, exported from that country[2].

The Etruscans were led to such zealous cultivation of metallurgy partly by the natural instinct of the race, partly by the superabundance of the easily-worked material at their command in the mines of Monte Catino, still as productive as of yore, and those of Campania, at that period equally rich. The extraordinary plentifulness of copper in Italy in those ages may be estimated from the fact, that the tiny Sicilian silver *litra*, of forty to the ounce, passed for twelve copper ounces, which makes the value of silver 480 times that of copper, whilst in modern days it has fallen to only 80, rating copper at the average price of one shilling per pound. And another evidence is the Etruscan coinage, imitated too by early Rome, consisting entirely of huge pieces of cast bronze, intended rather as ingots of certified weight than current money, though their makers were for the whole course of their national existence in close contact with the *Italiote* Greeks, who from the earliest times

[1] *Hist. Nat.* XXXVI. 19, where Pliny transcribes Varro's account of the building.

[2] Quoted by Athenæus, I. sect. 50, and XV. p. 700.

had struck silver of the highest perfection and to an enormous extent.

In his cargo of bronze utensils the Tyrrhene trader carried out with him a large assortment of aids to devotion, in the shape of little idols of the class we are considering, for the benefit of the wealthy Hellene or Asiatic, who had the means of exchanging his old graven or fictile image for the superior respectability of a molten one. For this is the only way in which Pliny's "signa Tuscanica *per terras*[1] dispersa," is to be understood; and many statuettes in the "archaic Greek" style, though found out of Italy, may safely be attributed to Etruscan manufacture. But by Pliny's time, these images were become, pretty nearly what they are in our own, mere articles of *virtù*: Horace enumerates them amongst the things generally sought after by men of taste:

> "Gemmas, marmor, ebur, *Tyrrhena sigilla*, tabellas,
> Argentum, vestes Gætulo murice tinctas." (Epp. II. ii. vv. 180—1.)

The chief value, however, of such bronzes, must then have been in their antiquity, or else in the association of ideas—the same motives that make our collectors now prize the brass crucifixes, saints, châsses, and similar *lares* (better to say *lemures*), of mediæval worship. For it must be confessed that all productions of Etruscan hands (the statuette before us is the best proof)—though often displaying much technical skill in the making, and careful finish of details—are more curious than beautiful: in fact, the latter element may be said to be non-existent in this school of art. Winckelmann has in his lucid manner pointed out the cause, and shewn how it could not have been otherwise[2]: how the Etruscan power collapsed

[1] The plural gives the word the sense of the *whole* world, necessarily implying a large exportation beyond seas.

[2] In his admirable dissertation upon the Tydeus in the *Pierres Gravées de Stosch*. *Mythologie Historique*, No. 174.

at the very moment when the Archaic was ripening into the perfect manner elsewhere, through the overwhelming deluge of the Gallic invasion, followed shortly after by the total loss of independence upon the Roman conquest. How complete was the ruin of the ancient opulence that had so long fostered the arts, and in its turn been promoted by their cultivation, may be judged of from the complaint recorded by the younger Gracchus, that his brother Tiberius (on his way to Numantia) had found the whole of Etruria peopled only by barbarian slaves[1]. This circumstance proves that the landowners had been exterminated, and their estates passed into the hands of Roman nobles; of whom Pliny remarks, that "latifundia perdidere Italiam." But,—to return to Horace's amateurs, of whom his Damasippus is the type,—their taste was either omnivorous, or, like all true collectors, they looked to nothing but the rarity and costliness of the objects of their pursuit: otherwise it were difficult to conceive how they could have sought out with equal avidity the stiff grotesque "Tyrrhena sigilla," and the "Corinthia," results of fully matured Grecian art.

The class of deities to which our "Spes Vetus" (for she well deserves the name) belongs, may claim a few words of comment; for their origin is intimately connected with a question of ethnology, long discussed, but apparently as far from settlement as ever. The Greeks deified only the Powers of Nature, beginning with the celestial bodies and the elements: they never thought of personifying the abstract qualities of the human soul. Plutarch (in his *Life of Agis*) remarks, as a most singular eccentricity in that very eccentric people, the Lacedemonians, that they had temples dedicated to Death, to Fear, and to Laughter. But the little actually known of the religion of the Tyrrheni shews it to have been based on very different principles. They appear to have brought with them into Italy some

[1] Quoted by Plutarch in his *Life of Tiberius Gracchus*, VIII. 4.

very simple form of Nature-worship, like the Sin-to of the Chinese and Japanese, and that still held by some of the tribes, probably of the same descent, in the recesses of the Caucasus. But these notions they never attempted to embody in visible forms. In Italy they found the Grecian gods and their images already in possession, installed by those primitive colonisers, who, like the founders of Agylla and Cumæ, had arrived at least a thousand years before our era. All these ready-made objects of worship they at once adopted, without any change, except of name, and even then only exchanging the Greek appellations for others of their own language, which, so far as they can be made out, were only *epithets* descriptive of the most conspicuous attribute of each deity. Thus they called Poseidon "Nethunos," Hephæstos "Sethlans" and "Volkanos," Dionysos "Pupluns," Hermes "Mercur," Venus "Mutina," Priapus "Mutunus"—many of which titles can be satisfactorily interpreted by analogies in the spoken Tuscan. In thus unreservedly adopting the religion of a partly conquered, partly resisting race, the Etruscans offer a striking resemblance to the Parthians, who either had no definite worship of their own, when they dispossessed the Macedonians of the empire of the East, or else adopted the "elegant mythology" of their new subjects with such exactitude as to leave no trace of that which they had originally held.

But the Tyrrhenes, once imbued with the Hellenic taste for image-worship, carried out the principle to an extent far beyond what their teachers had ever dreamed of doing. Thus, besides the "Genius," or *guardian-angel* of the individual (a notion peculiarly their own), they put into a bodily form the "Lares" similarly protectors of the house, and "Manes" of the tomb; Epona of the stables; and did the same with yet more unsubstantial ideas, representing Laverna, typical of secresy (afterwards degraded into Patroness of thieves), by a most appropriate emblem of a head without a body; the change of

seasons was figured in Vertumnus, one of their chief gods; Norcia, or Destiny, pictured as a woman nursing two infants[1], afterwards transferred to the later Roman coins as emblem of "Pietas," maternal love. Juvenal laughs at all these airy deified ideas, and wonders why the Romans of his day did not include in the same worship the only thing in which they really believed, namely, money,

> "..... nullas nummorum ereximus aras,
> Ut colitur Pax, atque Fides, Victoria, Virtus,
> Quæque salutato crepitat Concordia nido."
> (*Sat.* I. vv. 114—116).

To such nicety had these personifications been carried that there was at Rome a temple to the "Fortuna hujusce diei," the Fortune of *to-day*—doubtless meant to remind the prosperous of the mutability of worldly things. The veneration the goddess enjoyed is apparent from the fact that the second Minerva[2] of Phidias was dedicated to her by Aemilius Paulus, the conqueror of Macedonia, whose own career had so conspicuously exemplified her power.

That this host of minor deities owed their birth to Etruscan imagination, and came ready made into early Rome from Etruscan workshops, follows necessarily from the nature of the religion that finally prevailed there—Roman youths being sent to college at Clusium and Volsinii, there to study theology

[1] For this description Winckelmann quotes Gori, *Museum Etruscum*, I. pl. IV., but the statue there figured is clearly a mere mortal mother and child, an ex-voto, as the inscription on it shews. But the bronze relief in Caylus' *Recueil d'Antiquités*, III. pl. xli. 5, has much better claims to be taken for Norcia: a female body terminating in feathers, bearing a child on each arm; and probably the type in Juvenal's mind when he wrote,

> "Stat Fortuna improba noctu
> Arridens nudis infantibus, hos fovet omnes" (*Sat.* VI. vv. 605—6).

This relief, 2½ inches high, ends in a tang for fixing it in a base.

[2] "Altera Minerva." Pliny's expression (*Hist. Nat.* XXXIV. xix. 1) perhaps means the statue was a *replica* of the famous Pallas Promachos of the Parthenon.

and its complicated ritual, up to the times when the change of circumstances transferred their education to the schools of Athens. That the temples obtained their furnishings from the same source as their rites and ceremonies, appears from Varro's statement already adduced. And a remarkable testimony to the same purpose is the curious legend of the ominous fictile quadriga[1] made by Volca of Veii for the first great temple of the rising state. In addition to this comes a tradition mentioned by Plutarch in his *Life of Numa,* that idols were expressly prohibited by that legislator, and were not placed in temples before the 176th year from the foundation of the city. This date coincides with the establishment of Etruscan supremacy at Rome, in whatever manner that supremacy was established, and also with the most flourishing times of that idol-making people. These images brought their names with them inscribed (the usual Etruscan practice), which sufficiently explains the, at first sight, puzzling circumstance, that so many deities, taken without alteration of type or attribute from the Grecian Pantheon, should yet be only known in later times by Etruscan names, as Minerva, Mercurius, Hercules, Volkanus, Luna, Diana, &c.

Sesterce of Vespasian, see p. 72 note [2].

[1] The work had expanded, instead of shrinking in the natural order of things, in the baking; which the augurs took for an omen of the unprecedented growth of the place that had given the commission for it. The story is told by Plutarch in the *Life of Poplicola* (XIII. 1).

Considering the veneration in which the "Ancient Hope" was held at Rome to the latest times of the empire, it is certainly matter of surprise, that her figures in bronze, intended like the present one, for domestic worship[1], should be so extremely rare. Not a single example, of actual Roman make, is to be found in the immense collection of statuettes belonging to the British Museum; and but two are known to exist in Paris—one in the Louvre and one in the Médailler National. Strange this want of worship—Hope being the common property of mankind:

> "Spes etiam valida solatur compede vinctum;
> Crura sonant ferro, sed canit inter opus:"
>
> Tib. II. 6, vv. 25, 26.

whereas lady Fortune[2], who dispenses her capricious favours to the few, has been honoured with a vastly greater number of images in all materials (more especially gems), than any other object of ancient adoration. Even on gems *Spes* is but rarely to be seen—she was carried in the heart, not on the finger—the prettiest way she has been so introduced, is on a sard found at Alexandria, and bearing the name of Onesimus, whom the ingenious symbolism of his device declares to have been a physician. Æsculapius is seen leaning upon his serpent-

Sard[3] described above: the wood-cut is double the size of the original.

[1] Similar figures are not unfrequent, doing duty for mirror-stands, of Etruscan workmanship.

[2] Hope and Fortune were quaintly combined in *Fortuna Bonae Spei*, to whom there was an altar dedicated in the Vicus Longus on the Quirinal (Plutarch *de Fort. Rom.* x.).

[3] In the author's collection.

twined staff, to him advances Hope proffering her lily; between the two is a tripod for sacrifice, over which soars the bust of Jove, whose aid every doctor still invokes in writing his prescriptions in the planetary sign at the beginning, now falsely read as "Recipe." It is also curious to observe on coins, how the appellations of the goddess changed with the changing spirit of the times. Claudius, reigning in right of birth, appropriates her influence to himself by the title "Spes Augusta." Probus, a soldier of fortune, who had gained the empire by his own merit, and popular election, salutes her as "Spes Publica," —'the World's Great Hope'—whilst Constantine, who had learnt to place his hope beyond the present world, gives the last-named title to the Banner of the Cross transfixing the spiritual enemy, the Old Serpent.

"Third Brass" coin (described above) of Constantine II.
In the collection of the Rev. S. S. Lewis.
The engraving is double the size of the original.

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

VIII. On the Flint Implements found at Helwan near Cairo, by A. J. Jukes-Browne, Esq., B.A., F.G.S. Communicated by T. McK. Hughes, Esq., M.A., Woodwardian Professor of Geology. (With a plate of lithographs and a map.) 85

IX. On some Ancient Court Rolls of the Manor of Littleport in the Isle of Ely. Communicated by W. Marshall, Esq. . . 97

X. On Coining, and the Implements of Coining. Communicated by J. D. Robertson, Esq., Trinity College 109

XI. Description of a Norwegian Calendar. Communicated by E. Magnússon, Esq., M.A., Trinity College. (With a photograph and six full-page wood-cuts.) 129

XII. On a Flint Implement found at Barnwell. Communicated by A. F. Griffith, Esq., Christ's College. (With a lithograph.) . 177

XIII. Notice of a Ring found at Montpensier, and supposed to have belonged to the Black Prince. Communicated by Edw. Hailstone, Esq., Jun. 181

1

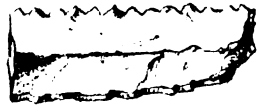
2

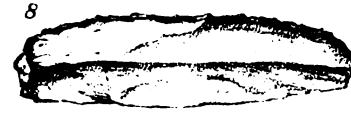
3

4

5

6

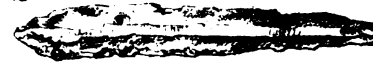

7

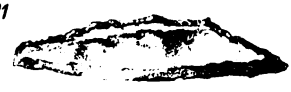

8

9

12

10


13


11

VIII. On the Flint Implements found at Helwan near Cairo, by A. J. Jukes Browne, Esq., B.A., F.G.S. Communicated by Prof. Hughes.

[November 12, 1877.]

Very little has hitherto been written regarding the occurrence of flint implements in Egypt; notice has been taken of some found in the neighbourhood of Thebes by MM. Arcelin and Lenormant, and the existence of those at Helwan was first made known in 1872.

They were discovered by Dr W. Reil, the director of the sanatory establishment at that place, who notified the fact of their occurrence to the Ethnological Society of Berlin, and placed a collection of them in the Boulak Museum at Cairo. In a pamphlet, printed in 1874, Dr Reil describes the neighbourhood of Helwan, and mentions the flint flakes "which occur on the surface of the sand near the springs;" but he has not published any detailed account of them. I propose, therefore, to offer a few remarks upon those I was able to collect during a residence of six weeks at Helwan in the spring of this year, noting their character and mode of occurrence, and prefacing my observations by some description of the physical geography of the district in which they are found.

A reference to any good map of Egypt will show that the valley of the Nile terminates at Cairo; the barren limestone hills, between which the river has hitherto pursued its course,

open out suddenly at this point, and trend away to the eastward and westward, giving place to the wide-spreading fertile plain of the Delta.

The mountains which bound the eastern side of the valley are known by the name of the Arabian chain; they commence with the Mokattam hills, just above the citadel of Cairo, which present a bold cliff-like front running for some distance to the southward; a wide lateral valley then interrupts the line, which however is carried on by the Toura and Helwan ranges. These cliffs are separated from the cultivated alluvial plain by an intervening strip of barren sandy desert, some three or four miles wide, forming an irregular terrace, which has a general slope from the base of the hills to the water-line of "high Nile."

The elevation of this desert plain varies considerably, but appears to be greatest near Helwan, where the surface is estimated at being from 100 to 120 feet above the average level of the river. A shallow valley, called the Wady Karafich, may be taken as the northern limit of this higher portion of the plain, which is traversed by another, somewhat deeper, about three miles to the southward; within the space thus indicated some 11 or 12 thermal springs rise up to the surface, and the new village of Helwan is built at a spot where several of these occur near together, and drain into a third intermediate depression called the "valley of the Palm-trees."

These shallow waddies are the continuations of deep valleys or ravines which descend from the hills, and breaking through the cliff line above mentioned, open out on to the lower level. The form and sculpturing of these rugged valleys bear evidence that the action of rain is anything but unknown in Egypt; the surface indeed being entirely unprotected by any kind of vegetation, and the soluble limestone rock being thus exposed to the action of the atmosphere, every little rain-shower takes effect in loosening the beds and washing down the sand. More or less rain falls every winter, and occasionally, once perhaps in

two or three years, heavy rains occur, and torrents of water sweep down the valleys, carrying away the loosened blocks, and spreading the *débris* over the plain below. An examination of this plain shows that it is, to a great extent, formed by the accumulation of such transported materials; the thickness of these varies considerably at different places, but they are everywhere found to rest upon a platform of solid rock, which projects outwards from the foot of the cliffs. Quarries have long been worked in this underlying limestone scar both at Toura and Helwan, and the inequalities of its surface are seen to bear an evident relation to the present valley system, ridges of the rock sometimes rising to the surface between the waddies. Thus it seems evident that the Arabian chain has been cut back to its present position by the continued action of rain and running water operating upon the cliff-line originally produced by the current of the Nile, and that the *débris*-covered scar may be taken as a measure of this recession. It is difficult to ascertain the actual extent to which the plateau is underlaid by this rocky scar, as the transported materials have probably been pushed out beyond its limit, so as to encroach upon the alluvial deposit of the plain.

The nature of the materials composing the plateau varies from layers of fine mud to beds of coarse angular *débris;* thus, in Wady Karafich, the following succession was noted in descending order:

		Feet.
4.	Surface *débris* of sand and stones infiltrated with various salts	4
3.	Dark grey clay, with calcareous concretions	3
2.	Bed of sand, with basement layer composed of large flint pebbles, and fragments of silicified wood	1
1.	Yellow false-bedded sands, with large lenticular ironstone concretions	8
	Total	16

In the railway cutting beds of sand and clay are to be seen banked up against the ridge of limestone which rises up out of this valley. The wells and excavations at Helwan itself shewed a considerable depth of pure sand infiltrated with sulphur and other mineral matters.

The surface of the plateau is generally composed of loose sand or sand and stones, but in the neighbourhood of the springs these are often compacted together by the saline deposits from the thermal waters which here permeate the soil; and it is on these surfaces, which are generally worn into irregular ridges and hollows, that the flint flakes and tools are principally to be found.

They do not occur below the surface, except where they have been covered up by subsequent sand-drifts; this has often taken place in the immediate vicinity of the springs, where the blowing sand is arrested by the general dampness and growth of herbage, and the ground is always more or less raised in consequence.

In excavations in these sand-drifts flint implements have been met with at various depths, but none have ever been found in the beds of mud and sand which have been brought down by the streams, and are exposed in the cuttings and diggings by the side of the railway.

The normal position of the implements is therefore on the surface of the plain; but it is to be noticed that they chiefly occur on slopes overlooking the greater depressions, where the hardened ground may have existed as a surface for many hundreds, or perhaps thousands, of years; and there are at least five of these spots where the flakes and implements occur in such abundance as to suggest the idea that these are the actual localities where the work was carried on, the very manufactories, in fact, where the tools of the period were made. The probability of this is increased by the fact, that the form of the flakes and the nature of the instruments differ considerably at

each of the five places referred to. Thus, two lance-heads were found at the first of these localities and none anywhere else, saws also were especially abundant, and flakes were few. The fifth locality was characterised by the presence of long knife-like implements, while flakes were very abundant, rough, and comparatively large; at the intermediate places flakes were numerous but very small, and curious little short knives or scrapers were abundant at the third locality. The following is a list of the forms found, shewing their relative abundance.

	Loc. 1.	Loc. 2.	Loc. 3.	Loc. 4.	Loc. 5.
Lance-heads	two	.....	.....	.....	.....
Arrow-heads	one	.....	.....	one	.....
Triangular tool	one	.....	.....	.....	.....
Saws	many	few	one	.....	.....
Long scrapers	.....	one	.....	.....	many
Thick scrapers	.....	two	several	.....	.....
Short knives	.....	few	many	.....	.....
Worked flakes	.....	many	many	many	few
Large flakes	.....	.....	.....	few	many
Small flakes	few	many	many	many	few

It will be seen from the above table that no heavy weapons have been found at Helwan, and yet we cannot suppose that the manufacturers of such well-made saws, knives, and lance-heads, were entirely without such tools as hammers, adzes, &c. The circumstance is strange, but Mr Skertchly informs me, that parallel cases occur near Brandon in Suffolk, assemblages of small flakes and scrapers occurring at certain spots as if manufactured there, while there is an entire absence of celts and the larger kinds of instruments. He also states that there is a great resemblance in shape between the Egyptian and the small Suffolk implements. The former I will now proceed to describe.

The two lance-heads are good specimens of flint work, the whole surface being worked over, and the sides chipped out into

serrated edges; they are about three inches long, and the base is simply squared and thinned off for insertion in the handle. One of them is represented on the plate, figs. 1, 2; the other appears to have been left unfinished, or else some faultiness in the flint itself prevented the workman from fully developing the serrations on one side, which is only reduced to a wavy edge. At the same locality I picked up a portion of a curious pointed instrument, made apparently from a flake whose section was almost an equilateral triangle; one side of this has been left flat, while the other two have been worked up by a series of neat, even, and precise strokes, which only a skilled workman could produce; the point has unfortunately been broken off, see fig. 4.

The best arrow-head was found about half a mile south of the Hotel, and is a beautiful piece of workmanship; its length is about 2½ inches, and its breadth near the base about half an inch, so that it is of an elongately lanceolate form; the "tag-end" exhibits two small nicks for the purpose of binding it on to the shaft in the same way as some of the American arrow-heads were secured. The point of this specimen was broken off, but I found the upper half of another at the first locality; the latter is shown in fig. 3.

The saws are, perhaps, the most curious and interesting of the Helwan implements; these vary from two to four inches in length, and seem to have been fashioned in the following manner,—a good long flake of even width was taken, the bulb of percussion struck off, so that it might be of equal width throughout, and the ends squared and neatly sloped off. One side or edge was then nicked out into a series of teeth, wide or narrow according to pleasure, and even in some cases cut into a graduating series from large to small teeth. The instrument was then probably set in a wooden holder, like that figured by Sir John Lubbock in his *Prehistoric Times* (p. 126).

In many instances the teeth are much polished, and more

or less broken, as if by dint of hard service, while, in some of them, both sides are worked into serrations, one edge being more broken than the other, as if it had been used up and the other side had been chipped out, in order to refit the instrument for service. That shown in fig. 7 is a broken specimen, but the saw edge is well developed.

At the third locality, which was situate near a spring, on the slope of a knoll overlooking the cultivated plain, and about a mile and a half from the old village of Helwan, very small knife-like instruments occurred in special abundance; these vary in length from one to nearly two inches, but the greater number are about an inch and a quarter long. A few of them are almost semilunar in shape, and similar to those used as knives and skin-scrapers by the Esquimaux (see Sir J. Lubbock's *Prehistoric Times*, pl. I. fig. 3); in the rest, one end is left blunt, and the other brought sharply down to a point, which is generally very sharp. See figs. 9, 10, 11. These bear a greater resemblance to the flakes from Kent's Cavern, figured and described at p. 456—7 of Dr Evans' *Stone Implements of Great Britain*. They are all made on the same pattern, and one side is always blunted or worked up to form a back by numerous slightly oblique or nearly vertical chippings.

It is however a question whether this blunted edge is the result of wear or of intentional working in the first instance. Dr Evans thinks that such flakes were used as scrapers, and were set in wooden handles which protected the sharp edge, while the other side was gradually ground down by wear; others, looking to the sharp edge and pointed end, believe that they were intended for some kind of cutting work. This question I have discussed elsewhere[1], but it is interesting to note that there are three ways in which such an edge may be produced; (1) by pressing a hard piece of bone or stone against

[1] *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.*, Vol. VII. p. 396.

the flint and working it so as to break off small pieces from the edge; (2) by scraping the flake along some hard substance, and this may have been done either for the express purpose of forming a back to the flake, or for the purpose of cleaning the substance scraped; (3) by chipping or knapping the flake with a thin hammer in the way practised by gun-flint makers at the present day. This is done by placing the flint on a metal stake, so that the edge to be operated upon projects slightly beyond it, the hammer is then moved sharply up and down against the flint, causing numerous little particles to fly off from its under side, and thus producing a straight under-cut edge. Which of these methods was adopted by the Helwan manufacturers it is difficult to say, but on the whole it is more likely to have been one of the first two.

Several implements of another type also occurred, somewhat larger, from 1½ to 2 inches long, and much thicker, see fig. 8; these are rounded off at both ends and worked along the back, and in one case the cutting edge was straightened and sharpened in the manner just described.

Flakes were to be found at many places, the longest occurring at the fifth locality, about two miles south of Helwan, where they were scattered about in great profusion, together with many of the cores from which they were struck. Some of the longest and thinnest shewed the same minute chipping along a portion of one side, as if they might have been used for scrapers in the manner suggested by Dr Evans; see fig. 13. They are simply flakes rounded off at the bulb-end, and vary greatly in shape and length, instead of being all reduced to the same general type like the tools shown in figures 9, 10 and 11.

Elsewhere the flakes were mostly small, but many of them are neatly worked round at the bulb-end by means of numerous short flaking strokes, and are thus converted into scrapers or "smoothers," for the round even surface of this bulb might have

been used for the purpose of smoothing down any substance that had been roughened by scraping; see figs. 5 and 6, which show the back and front of one of these trimmed flakes.

Thus almost all the flakes seem to have been utilized, and those that could not be converted into saws or knives were chipped up and evidently used in some way or other, while some of them are of such convenient shape, that they might almost be used as knives, or arrow-heads, without further working. One of these is shown at fig. 12.

In approaching the difficult problem of estimating the probable age of the flakes and implements above described, I may remark *in limine* that their occurrence on the surface does not preclude us from assigning them to a very remote date, as it would in most parts of this country, because the surface in Egypt has probably remained unchanged for a very long period of time.

Some flint weapons have recently been discovered in tombs of Ptolemaic age, but such cases seem to be rare, and those I saw in the Boulak Museum are different in type and more modern-looking than the Helwan flints. Others have been found on the soil in the neighbourhood of Thebes, and these are of a more antique and palæolithic appearance[1]. Judging, therefore, merely from their general characters and style of workmanship, I should think the Helwan implements might be considered as of intermediate age between the two assemblages above indicated.

M. Mariette Bey thus speaks of them in his Guide to the Boulak Museum: "The flints having been collected on the surface of the soil, there is no evidence to prove the date of their manufacture. They may have used flint as tips for their lances and arrows, or as knives for the incision of mummies, even at the most flourishing epoch of Egyptian civilization....Thus the

[1] Sir J. Lubbock, in *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.*, Vol. IV. p. 215.

implements may date from Pharaonic times, they may be of Greek age, and it is not even impossible that some of them may be as late as the Arabian era." I could not find, however, that the present race of Arabs knew anything about them; and the abundance of knife-like implements is somewhat in favour of the suggestion that they may have been used for the incision of mummies.

The Helwan sulphur springs have been favourite places of resort from a very remote period, and Sir Gardner Wilkinson seems to think they may have been known to the Ancient Egyptians. The locality is only four or five miles from the ruins of Thebes, and we know that the Egyptians used instruments of flint for many purposes. They practised the rite of circumcision, for which flint knives were employed at a very early date[1]. Arrows with flint tips of a peculiar form, but quite different to those found at Helwan, have been discovered in the tombs[2]. Broad-bladed knives also exist in many collections of Egyptian antiquities, which are supposed to have been used for the purpose of making the first incision in embalming the dead, according to the account given by Herodotus. Two of these knives are represented in Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians[3], and the smaller of these bears great resemblance to the little knife-like instruments described above.

It is possible therefore that these flints belong to a period when the inhabitants of the Nile Valley had attained to an advanced stage of civilization, but metal being still a rare commodity in the country at so early a date, they may have carried the art of flint manufacture to the greater degree of perfection. It should however be stated that Sir J. Lubbock and others believe the Theban implements to be prehistoric even as regards Egyptian History.

[1] Exodus iv. 25, and Joshua v. 2.

[2] See Evans' *Stone Implements of Great Britain*, p. 329.

[3] *Popular Account of the Ancient Egyptians*, Vol. II. p. 164.

The discovery of flint implements is the more interesting in a land like Egypt, whose annals extend backwards over so long a period of years; and it is to be hoped that further investigations will be pursued at Helwan and elsewhere, and that evidence will be forthcoming which will enable us to fix more accurately the time when these flint manufactories were carried on.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE.

Figs. 1 and 2. Lance-head found by Mr George Walpole at the Wady Karafich, near Helwan, and now in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy.

Fig. 3. Part of an arrow-head from the Wady Karafich, now placed in the Christy collection.

Fig. 4. Arrow-head (?) from the same locality, now in the Christy collection.

Figs. 5 and 6. Broken flake trimmed at the bulb-end, found near the Hotel at Helwan.

Fig. 7. A small saw from the Wady Karafich.

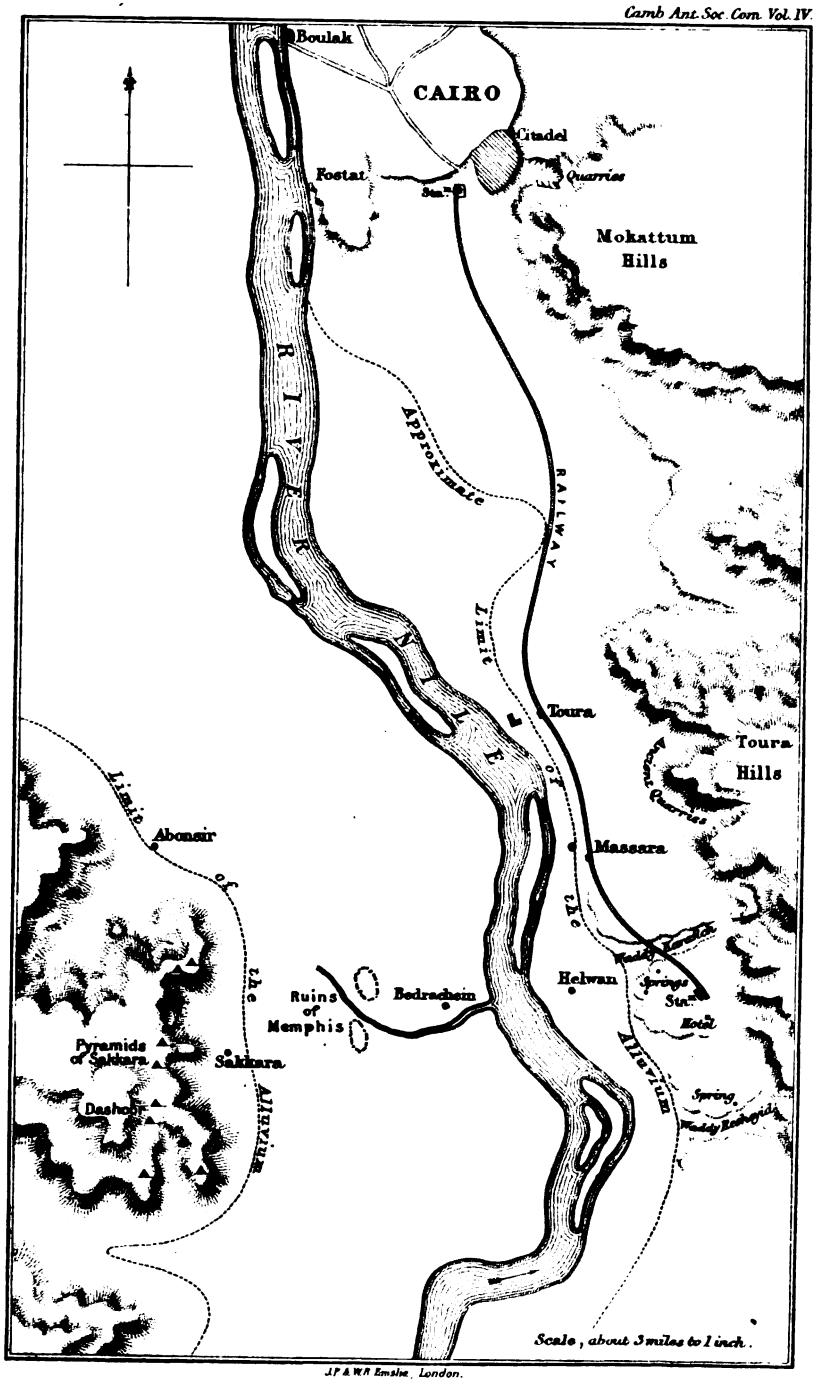
Fig. 8. One of the larger knives from locality No. 3.

Figs. 9, 10, 11. Varieties of the smaller sharp-pointed scrapers or knives, from locality No. 3, Helwan.

Fig. 12. A flake only slightly chipped near one end.

Fig. 13. One of the long narrow flakes from the Wady Reshayid, south of Helwan.

The originals of Figs. 5 to 13 are in the Museum of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society.



J.P. & W.R. Emslie, London.

IX. On some Ancient Court Rolls of the Manor of Littleport in the Isle of Ely in the County of Cambridge. Communicated by W. Marshall, Esq.

[March 4, 1878.]

History of the Finding. A few months ago these ancient Court Rolls were brought to me by Joseph Martin, Esq., of Littleport, as having been found in a carpenter's shop just as they are produced, except that they were secured by a piece of common tape, and were daubed on the outside by a broad patch of pitch, apparently to stick the rolled sheets together. When one considers that the material of which these Rolls are composed is parchment (an animal substance), and the risks of their destruction either by moisture, mildew, mice, fire and housewives, to say nothing of the being tossed about one knows not for how long, it is nothing less than a marvel, almost amounting to a miracle, that they should have survived and been brought down safely through the 593 years which have elapsed since the oldest of them was written.

Description of the Documents. The documents turned out on examination to be a continuous series of the Court Rolls of the Manor of Littleport, from the 10th Ed. II. (1316—7) to the

1st Edw. III. (1327). They are contained in 26 membranes or skins of parchment about 10 inches wide by 20 inches long, and are closely and clearly written on both sides. Twenty-five of the membranes contain the records of 59 courts, 10 of which are Courts Leet. The outer membrane, which forms a backing to the rest, is a Court Roll of the same manor, but from its more archaic character obviously of older date. It is headed "Littleport. Cur. ibidem tenta die martis in vigil. sc̄i Jacobi Apost. anno Pont. H. xxviij." There is no King's reign mentioned, as in all the later rolls, but as the only Pontificate (of Ely) which about this period extended to 28 years was that of Hugh de Balsham[1], who occupied the See from 1257 to 1286 (29 years),

[1] "It was this Bishop," says Bentham, in his *History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Ely*, "that settled the distinction of Jurisdiction between the Chancellor of the University of Cambridge and the Archdeacon of Ely in 1276. In the year 1280, from his affection to Learning, and respecting the state of the Poor Scholars in the University of Cambridge, who were much put to it for conveniency of lodging, from the high rents exacted by the Townsmen; he obtained a Licence from King Edward I. for founding a College of Students or Scholars there secundum Regulam Scolarium Oxon. qui de Merton cognominantur; intending at first as it should seem to have converted the Hospital of St John in Cambridge, where some scholars under the patronage of the Bishops of Ely then resided, into a College; but afterwards seeing occasion to alter his design he removed these scholars to two Hostles near St Peter's Church without Trumpington Gate; and by an Instrument dated March 31, 1284, ordained that they should for ever be styled The Scholars of the Bishops of Ely; and put them into immediate and perpetual possession of those two Hostles, and of St Peter's Church before mentioned, with the tythe of the two Mills thereto belonging; all which the Brethren of the Hospital before used to have; and to which ordinance of the Bishop they submitted. By his last Will he left to his Scholars many books in Divinity and other Sciences; and 300 marks for erecting new Buildings; with which sum they purchased a piece of ground on the South Side of the said Church where they built a very fine Hall. This was the first endowed College in Cambridge. The University, in grateful respect to his memory, by an Instrument dated at Cambridge 7 Kal. Jun. A.D. 1291, and sealed with the University Seal, obliged themselves annually to celebrate a solemn commemoration of his Obit."

there can be no doubt whatever that the date of this Roll is 1285 (15 Edw. I.), or exactly 60 years older than the first skin of the regular series.

The first Roll is thus entitled: "Littleport Cur. ibidem die veneris prox. post festum Sci Tiburtii Martyris Anno 12 R. E. fil. r. E. decimo et pont. J. de Hotho primo." The 10 Ed. II. and the 1st of John de Hotham Bishop of Ely represent the year 1316—7, and the Bishops of Ely were at this date Lords of the Manor of Littleport, and so continued till 10th June 1600 (42 Eliz.) when divers ancient Manors and Estates, including the Manor of Littleport, were conveyed to the Queen her heirs and successors in exchange for other estates (Bentham, p. 196). The Earl of Hardwicke is now Lord of the Manor of Littleport.

The Courts were all held on Saints' Days, some of them, such as the one just mentioned, on the day of Tiburtius the Martyr, whose name does not appear in our reformed Calendar.

Having described the documents, the contributor of this paper feels that in making his communication to a learned body like the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, he may very likely dwell on points which to such a body are perfectly familiar, and may possess no antiquarian interest at all. If he should do so he must ask the meeting to make allowance for a person who is no professed antiquary, and who regards the documents in question merely as a layman and a lawyer. There may be, and probably are, hundreds of similar documents scattered throughout the country, equally ancient and equally interesting, and whatever is found in these Littleport Rolls may be nothing more than what may be found in many others. To the author of this paper the documents appeared interesting in this way. Littleport is a great parish of 17000 acres, 16000 of which are pure fen land, and here are documents which (inasmuch as at the COURTS BARON all the *Civil* business of the Manor was transacted, at the COURTS LEET many of the ordinary *Criminal* offences were dealt with and punished) cannot

fail to throw light upon the habits, usages, and social condition of the inhabitants of the fens upwards of 500 years ago, and at a time, be it remembered, before the oldest of the present Colleges of Cambridge was founded.

Amongst the matters of interest which we should expect to find in such a document would be the names of places, some remaining, many lost; the surnames of persons, some of which may still linger in the locality; the kind of living, the kind of dress, the employments of the people, their quarrels and offences, their physical condition, their social habits, the state of the fens as to drainage, the productions of the fens, the mode of user, and the kind of tenure which prevailed in those remote days.

It cannot be expected that these subjects can be exhaustively treated in a communication of this kind, when it is considered how voluminous the materials are and how brief the space allowed within which to condense what one may desire to say. The very most that can be done is to touch lightly on some of these points, leaving to other persons, with more leisure and more aptitude for the work, the task of submitting the documents to a more minute and searching investigation.

As to names of places in Littleport. There are "Mychelsnote," le Smale-snote, "Loftstede," "Conygreaves," "le Sourlond," "Esthale," "Wrogewilgh," "Farnhoue," and many others which have been lost, an allusion to the "altam viam prope Pontem," shewing there was a bridge, "Portlow" which is plainly the origin of the "Portley" Hill of the present date, and the very frequent occurrence of such words as "Hulmo," and "Cruftum," which are retained in the Holmes and the Crofts of modern Littleport. "La Plaine" is also mentioned.

The names of surrounding Towns scattered through the manuscript. There are Ixninge, Dereham, Elm, Tyd, Laken-

heath, Feltwelle, Drayton, Chetisham, Helegeye (Hilgay), Hokewold, Modeneye (Modney), Milton, Ringstede, Weeting, Cambridge, Witcham, Downham, Foxton, Erheth (Earith), Ramsey, Rampton, Narburgh, Denever (Denver), Wereham, Wyggenhall, Stretham, Braham, Chatteris, Wimblington, Wilburton, Wille (Welle), Wroxham, and others. The name of "Prickwillow," a place near Ely at the junction of the Ouse and Lark, the origin of which has always been a puzzle, occurs twice, and is in both cases spelt "Pricwylgh." The second syllable is plainly the same as the modern spelling.

Surnames of Persons. Akerman, Akre, Albin, Anke, Atte Green and Atte Presthous, Bencosin (very common), Bolay, Bolle (Bull), Bindebeere, Brokenhorn (very common and runs through all the period covered by the Rolls), Bolewere (Bulwer), Bantelig (Bentley), Breton (Brittain), Bonere, Brennewater, Belde, Brett, Cosin, Capellanus, Clericus (Clark), Chareter (Carter), Fawkes, Fox, Gaybon, Godlomb, Godlob, Godlok (? Cutlack), Godchild (Goodchild), Godescarce! Hakeney, Huxtere, and Huckster, Ilger (Hilger), Kiggel, Lardener, Loverig, Lovechild, Loveday, la Lunge (Long), le Lodere, le Vacher, le Bercher (Barker, Bearcock), le Vek (Bishop), le Peckere, le Tresorer, le Swon (Swan), Makehayt, Mountfort, Martin! (the name of the gentleman on whose premises the Rolls were found), Manumester, Mortimer, Pinchbeck, Piscator (Fisher), Pitcock (Pidcock), Pocock, Peche (Peachy), Prest, Rushpilere, Schayl (Sayle), Sekir (Secker and Sucker), Swetegrom, Sarle (Searle), Sweyn, Tharne, Tepito, sometimes spelt Thepito, also Chepito[1], Wodcok, besides many others.

[1] This is a very common name of a very prominent person who appears all through the Rolls. Has it any connection with the modern surnames of Dobito and Dobede? In a Record of 2 Car. II., an Action of Trespass of the 21 Ed. III. is referred to as "inter Katharinam Buck querentem et Wilhelmum TIVETO et alios de Littleport defendentes." Or it may be Tiptoft or Tiptoe.

Christian names. It would appear that in these remote times the Christian names of women were in considerable variety and somewhat grandisonant, even in the heart of the Fens. The following occur amongst others: Agnes, Alicia, Anniflis, Amicia, Blyda or Blytha, Cecilia, Christina, Christiana, Cassandra, Constancia, Dametta, Elisabeth, Elisota, Emma, Eva, Helena, Isabella, Juliana, Mabilla, Margaretta, Muriel, Sarra (Sarah). Reginald is not an uncommon name amongst the men.

The kind of Living. As to this, bread and beer seem to have been the staple of existence (curiously no mention is made of cheese or milk), and in the assizes of bread and beer the utmost vigilance was exercised by the Court Leet, both with regard to the price, the measure, and the quality of these two prime articles of sustenance. The "Tastatores Cerevisiae" who were appointed and sworn in, seem to have had plenty to do, as we find the names of defaulting Tapsters (they were always females) called "Gannokers" all through the Rolls continually being recorded, from which has been chiefly gathered the list of very fine female Christian names already referred to. With regard to the assize of bread there is a statute of uncertain date called "Statutum Panis et Servisie," but it is generally reputed to have been of the 18th Ed. II. The present Rolls go a long way to confirm this date, because in the Rolls of the 18th, 19th, and 20th Ed. II., we find that the statute was strictly followed, and the verdict of the Jury is entered in great detail.

Not only is the price of corn given for each year, but we are enabled to see what great fluctuations of price occurred between one year and the next. The following shews the price of corn (wheat) for the three years, 18th, 19th, and 20th Ed. II., as divided into three sorts: melior, mediocris, and debilior.

	Price per Quarter.		
	18 Edw. II. 1324.	19 Edw. II. 1325.	20 Edw. II. 1326.
Melior	7*s.*	5*s.* 0*d.*	3*s.* 8*d.*
Mediocris	6*s.*	4*s.* 8*d.*	3*s.* 4*d.*
Debilior	5*s.*	4*s.* 6*d.*	3*s.* 2*d.*

Here we see that the price of the best wheat had fallen in one year over 28 per cent., with a further fall of 25 per cent. in the next year, or a total fall of 47½ per cent. in two years. What would happen to this country if the price of the staff of life fluctuated now as it did then? It is curious to see the vigilance exercised over the Pistores, Braciatores, and Gannokers, and from the number of them fined for defect in weight and measure we come to see that in those simple primitive times there were rogues in grain and rogues in drink just as there are now.

The bread also seemed to be divided like the corn into 3 qualities called respectively Wastell, Simenel and de Coket.

It is quite clear that all the cereals now in cultivation, wheat, barley, oats and rye, were in cultivation then; also beans and pease, the latter being mentioned in connection with the words "del Daylkin," or Daywin, whatever those words may mean.

Articles of Apparel. Amongst these, we meet with such phrases as "unam tapetam et unam tunicam," "tunicam de albo," "supertunicam," roket, curtepy, 1 huth, 1 hosten, 1 collob. and 1 par de Stacchys!

Amongst Tools and Articles in Use, we find 1 wimble, 1 axum, 1 segl (sail), lucernæ, andirons, batella, remigium, unum vetus rete, and unam ollam æneam.

The Employments of the people may be inferred from some of the surnames, as Brewster, Carter or Chareter, Chapman, Fisher, Piscator, Peche, Hucstere, le Meyr, Rushpilere (Rush-peeler), Shepherd, le Souter, le Threshere, &c.

The Disputes amongst the people. Besides the numerous suits for very small debts, we find actions brought and damages recovered for what appear now to be very venial offences, such as breaking an "Evesbord," taking an oar out of a boat, detaining a "Horslep" (or Hordlep) selling a thousand of inferior lesch (the word always used for "Sedge"), described as "debilior quam ipsa emit ad dampnum xviij^{d}."; breaking a contract for the sale of 1000 eels sold for 10^{s}., damages claimed, 12^{d}.; for a trespass with oxen in the lord's barley ("in ordeo domini apud le WYNYERD cum bobus,") and another in the vicarage with geese. To shew the value of money, it is no uncommon thing to find an action brought for one shilling and fourpence halfpenny farthing, "unum solidum, quatuor denarios, obolum quadrans," which makes the magnitude of one of the sums sued for so much the more remarkable by contrast. John Tepito and Constance his wife, who was the wife of Osbert Godlob and the executrix of his will, acknowledged to owe to Thomas Thame, capellanus, xxiiij^{s}., and iv^{d}. for the *balance* (de residuo) of one anniversary which had been celebrated for the soul of the said Osbert, payable at Easter. It will be noted that this comparatively large sum of 24*s.* 4*d.* is only the balance due to the said Thomas. What might have been the whole amount of the charge made for the repose of Osbert's soul nowhere appears.

The Offences committed. These are very numerous and of the most varied description. Drawing fishponds (gurgites) and taking away fish, cutting and carrying away sedge (lesch) out of the fens, cutting "lesch" out of the proper season (ante le Hokeday contra ordinationem), breaking the lesch, selling it against the proclamation, selling it out of the manor, cutting

ears of corn, taking "tres garbas avenæ domini ad equos suos," collecting ova botorum, the eggs of the bittern (or "butter bump," now vanished from the fens), and exporting them extra mariscum; taking a man's oars out of his boat; trespass of hens (glenes gallenas), and damaging 1 bus. fri (frumenti) pr. xx^{d}., i bus. ord. pr. xii^{d}., and 2 bus. fab. xx^{d}.; placing dung in a lane so that no one could pass that way, fishing at night with nets (in alienis piscariis); killing somebody's hen; breaking the lord's fold, not cultivating the lord's land and leaving it incultam ob inopiam et caristiam, for which, under the circumstances, gersuma condonatur. Neglecting to do suit to the lord's mill, keeping and using a handmill (molendinum manuale) at home, defaming the corn of the lord, per quod alii emptores reliquerant emere; capturing a leveret (lepusculum) in garenna domini; hunting a hare in the lord's field, doing damage in the lord's vineyard (vinarium); taking a man's baskets and putting them into the water, quare cepit corbellos suos et eos posuit in aquâ suâ. Selling oats and beer by false measure, spoiling corn for malting, letting a dog bite an animal of the lord; the brothers of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem having two dogs (canes existentes) in garennâ domini *unde oritur suspicio.* Breach of warranty of eleven ewes (11 oves matres quas advocat esse sanas), but which expirassent cum putredine. Then we have people suspected of petty larceny, taking esticks (sticks[1]) of eel, forestalling, regrating, pound-breach, non-repairing a causeway; digging clay in the King's highway, not coming to work soon enough in the morning, adeo mane sicut pares suos, ad cariandum bladum domini. Not coming to cut the lord's corn, sicut facere debet; defaming the character of Mabil, the wife of Richard Manitele, unde eadem Mabilla deteriorata fuit in charactero ad dampnum of said Richard and Mabil of 40*s.* It appears moreover that Adam Abbot was punished for percussing Mabil le

[1] A stik of eels is 25.—*Stat. de Ponderibus et Mensuris.*

Smekere ad damp. 3^{d}., but he was also fined for breaking ramos fraxini in cemeterio Eccl$\bar{\text{æ}}$ in contemptu sc$\bar{\text{æ}}$ eccl$\bar{\text{æ}}$. Then John Fox himself broke open Mabel Bencosin's box which was locked, fregit cistam quod erat sub serrâ, and John Piscato stood by while it was done, and John Fox was fined 6*d*. Then we have John Montfort for committing the offence of Hamsoken (that is, invading the home of John Fox) et ipsum insult, eum cum cultello. Several women are presented for Lehrwite (fornication), but only when committed cum quodam *extraneo*. There is also the case of Wm. de Gys, presented as vagabundus de nocte et perturbator Pacis domini Regis et nescitur unde venit. John le Huxtere is also presented as vagabundus de nocte et suspectus mali penes eum. There is also Johanna, the daughter of Galfrid Whytering, presented as a leper, est leprosa. This long list does not by any means exhaust the catalogue of offences dealt with, but enough have been brought forward to shew that human nature then was pretty much the same as human nature is now. There are, however, three more small offences recorded which ought not to be passed over. One is a presentment of Richd. Manitele and Wm. de Helegye for defaming the lord's Court, by falsely and maliciously averring that no one could obtain justice in it; the second is a presentment that Wm. Tepito is fined 2*d*., quare impedit per *garulationem*, so that the capital pledges could not hear the particulars of the various presentments, and the third is that Constantia Brice, one of the tapsters, was fined for not permitting the tastatores cerevisiae, *tastare*.

The use made of the Fens. It would appear by the allusions in these Rolls that the vegetable produce of the Fens consisted almost exclusively of sedge (lesch) which was probably a name used generically and covered all the *Carices* abounding in the fens, as well as the special sedge of Burwell

Fen (*Cladium mariscus*) to which the University of Cambridge was formerly so much indebted as a means of lighting their fires. Probably the word also covered reeds and rushes, as neither of these words occur. The word "Lesch" has now become obsolete in the Fens; but the French name for the plants of the genus Carex is "Laiche." The word "leyt" occurs a few times, and obviously meant a coarse sweet grass, what we still call "leed" [*Poa* (*glyceria*) *aquatica*], which was made into fodder for cattle, and which was of sufficient importance as a fen plant to receive special notice from Camden. Turf was cut in large quantities under strict regulations. There were evidently large pools of water in the fens called in the Rolls "gurgites" and "stagna," producing abundance of fish, especially eels, which were valued at 10*s.* to the thousand, and rent was often paid in eels. John Albin owed the Vicar of Littleport 1000 eels for tithe. There were also abundance of wild fowl, and their eggs. The small portion constituting the high land of Littleport (consisting of not more than 900 acres) was evidently well cultivated, with all the cereals and pulse still grown by farmers, and we find reference to ground game in the lord's warren, and the dogs of the Brothers of St John of Jerusalem together with a vineyard belonging to the lord.

Drainage. Very little is to be found which can throw any light on the Drainage. With crops of lesch, leyt, and rush, the people of Littleport needed none. The only reference to this subject which I have noted is where Wm. Hamond and John Spynnerel had obstructed a water course "cursum aque" at Ewerestring ad dampnum dn̄i Ep̄i et nocumentum tenentum suorum, and they were fined 4*d.* to the Lord and ordered to repair and amend and cease to do further injury.

Roads. Tota villata de Lyttleport was presented for not repairing a causeway, and several individuals were also presented and fined for a like cause.

Government of the Village. There was the steward of the manor, the tasters of beer, an officer to collect the lord's rent, a collector of eels, a master of the harvesting, a person to see the bylaws were kept, an officer to buy and sell for the lord, a lord's miller over the lord's mill (unless it was let), an officer to report trespassers in marsh and warren, and there was what would now be called a fen reeve, who in the Rolls is called Prepositus, or Provost. There were views of frank-pledge. If any one went out of the village he was reported, if any one came in he had to find his way into a decenna, where nine other persons would have to be responsible for him. If a tenant wanted to marry he had to obtain a *licentia maritandi* and pay to the lord a half mark for the privilege to do fealty. In addition to all these was the vicar of the parish whose name in the 20 Ed. II. was Wm. Russell.

There are also in the Rolls several allusions to tenure. Lands are called Terræ de Wara, and Terræ de Bondage, and some curious presentments appear as to the status of the new settlers called "undersetlers" in the village, and as to their rights in the fens, but to refer to these matters at large would extend this paper to too great a length.

In conclusion it is hardly necessary to say that the Rolls are in abbreviated Latin, very clearly written, the ink of good colour, and easily to be read by those whose eyes are accustomed to the character and this particular kind of research, of whom the author of this paper is not one. The only exception to the Latin is a rescript or mandate from the Bishop, written in Norman-French, dated from his manor of Somersham, and addressed to "Michel de Cantebrugg Seneshal de notre Isle d' Ely," requiring the Court Rolls to be searched on behalf of a lady, one Agnes Ange, who made claim to dower in some land at Littleport.

X. On Coining and the Implements of Coining. Communicated by J. D. Robertson, Esq., Trinity College.

[March 18, 1878.]

The subject of the present paper was suggested by a very interesting pair of coin-dies in the possession of the Secretary of the Society, of which Mr Lewis asked me to furnish a description, a task which I have the more willingly undertaken, as I feel that the existence of relics of so much antiquarian and numismatic interest should not remain unrecorded.

Before proceeding, however, to describe the dies in question, I think it may not be uninteresting to make some prefatory remarks on coining and coining implements in general.

Until the introduction of the screw-press in the middle of the sixteenth century—probably suggested by the invention of the printing press—the process of coining in mediæval times had undergone little or no alteration from the method employed by the ancients. This process is very simple, and may be described in a few words. The lower die, called the *pile* or *standard*, was firmly fixed in a large block of wood, similar to a butcher's block. On this die the obverse of the coin to be struck was always engraved, because being the more important from its bearing the prince's title, and usually his portrait, it was essential that it should be perfectly steady in

the striking. Upon this die was then placed the *flan*[1], or blank piece of metal, which was to receive the impression, previously

cut to the proper weight, thickness and size, and carefully made smooth and bright by a process called *blenching*. This was effected by "heating the flans, shaking them in a copper sieve, and afterwards throwing them into boiling water mixed with common salt and the ashes of the burnt lees of wine, in which they were boiled till quite bright, and then again thrown on the copper sieve and dried with rubbers[2]." The moneyer, holding in his left hand the upper die, or *trussell* (derived from the Ital. *torso, torsolo*), on which the reverse of the coin was engraved, then applied it to the flan, and gave it several good blows with a hammer, which he held in his right.

The antiquity of these implements for coining money is demonstrated by their appearing as mint marks on some denarii of the family Roscia[3]. It has been generally supposed

[1] The word "flan," which in old French is spelt *flaon*, is derived from *flatum*. The verb *flare* is regularly employed for casting metal in a mould, and the blanks were prepared in this way in Roman times. The mint-masters were officially designated IIIVIRI. A. A. A. F. F., *i.e.* Triumviri auro, argento, æri, *flando*, feriundo.

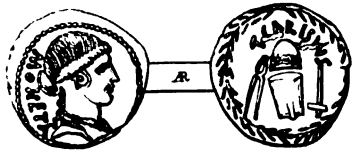
[2] Cochran-Patrick, *Records of the Coinage of Scotland*, Vol. I. p. xlix.

[3] Figured in Morellius' *Thesaurus*, Vol. I., sub ROSCIA, Nos. 19 and 20.

that they are also represented on a coin of T. Carisius, but such is not in reality the case. I have been favoured with some very interesting remarks on this subject, by Mr C. W. King, Senior Fellow of Trinity College, which while bearing upon the matter in hand, are further valuable as correcting a popular mistake, and I cannot therefore do better than quote them here at length.

THE "MONETA" OF T. CARISIUS.

The science of Numismatics, like all others, has its "vulgar errors," the origin of which goes too far back to be traced, and which are accepted by successive generations of collectors without distrust or examination. Of these errors one of the most implicitly believed, and at the same time the most unfounded, is that the coiner's tools, "instruments de monnayage," used in the Roman mint, are exhibited upon a coin of T. Carisius, one of Augustus' mint-masters. These objects are clearly defined upon the coin; they are a hammer, tongs, anvil, and hemispherical cap wreathed with myrtle. The two last, according to the received explanation, are the dies of the obverse and reverse; the tongs served for placing the *heated* "blank" between the dies[1], and the hammer for striking them together.



It is strange that no one should have observed that one of the objects in the centre is unmistakeably an anvil, and being so, the hemisphere placed upon it must from its relative pro-

[1] This is a gratuitous theory to explain the presence of the tongs. Its author never reflected that a few applications of red-hot blanks would speedily destroy the fusible bronze of which the dies were composed.

portion be much too large for any coin-die, its magnitude being further put out of doubt by the myrtle branch wreathed about it—to say nothing of its form, so unsuited for the purpose of a die. But the hallucination appears to have arisen from the too exclusive attention paid to the type of the obverse, which, by its representing Juno "Moneta," made the first writers on medals jump to the conclusion that the reverse must needs represent the implements dedicated to her service. But if a more careful attention had been paid to the actual forms of the objects making up the reverse, it would have become apparent that they are the attributes of Vulcan, or perhaps of his sons, the Cabiri, considering the high veneration in which the Samothracian Mysteries were held in republican Rome. His proper distinction, the conical cap wreathed with myrtle (to imply that grace, equally with force, belong to the great artificer), is a sufficient declaration of the meaning of the group, added as it is to the hammer, tongs, and anvil. Of the correctness of this explanation any one may satisfy himself by a single glance at the very common denarius minted by L. Aurelius Cotta. The obverse shews the head of Vulcan in the self-same conical cap, and with the same great blacksmith's tongs upon his shoulder. And still more to the purpose is a copper piece of the same mint-master, with heads of the Cabiri, his patron-gods, on each side; the one bearded, similarly capped, carries the same large tongs upon his shoulder; his brother, without a beard, has a star above his cap.

If anything more were necessary for proving the absurdity of discovering a pair of dies in Vulcan's cap and anvil, it can be furnished by a most decisive argument. Amongst the immense variety of implements, figured for mint-marks on the denarii of the family Roscia, may be found the actual tools employed in striking the piece. These are the *die*, slightly conical, on the one side; and the *hammer* with heavy head and wide-spread "feather," on the other. It is a curious fact that Louis

le Debonair—a prince who in many other ways has left tokens of his knowledge and love of art, amidst the dense barbarism of his times—has taken the hint from the Augustan moneyer, and made a tasteful reverse to a denier out of a pair of dies, and two hammers; an elegant design, but rudely executed by the artless engraver. The legend METALLVM shews it to belong to the mint of Melle, a town of much importance under the Carlovingian kings.

It will thus be seen that the engraver of the Carlovingian die was acquainted with much the same description of coining-iron as the Roman die-sinker,—that the representation of the tools used by the Roman coiner was perfectly intelligible to the moneyer of Louis le Debonair. It is at least evident that the form of these implements had undergone but little change. This conical shape of die seems to have been not uncommon in early times. In the *Revue Archéologique* for May, 1867, four Gaulish dies are described, two of which are stated to be conical. Both of these are very small, measuring each about $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. in height. One of them was for a denier of Togirix. Of the other two, one was of the shape of a mushroom, with a concave face and the edge turned over. The fourth is of different construction, consisting of a disc of iron, about $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. in diameter, into which the actual die, of bronze, is fitted. This seems closely to resemble the pile of a pair of dies for a denarius of the Gens Cornelia, which are in the British Museum. In this case too the obverse die is imbedded in a cylinder of iron $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. in diameter. Round the top of the cylinder, and made out of the same piece of iron, runs a collar ($\frac{11}{16}$ in. in height, and about $\frac{1}{2}$ in. thick,) for two-thirds of the circumference, the open space being left to facilitate the insertion and removal of the flan. The reverse die is fixed into

a trussell, 9 in. in length, the end of which is constructed to fit exactly into the collar of the pile, the handle being finished off into an octangular form for convenience of grasping it. This simple but ingenious contrivance enabled the coiner without further trouble to ensure the two dies exactly coinciding, while at the same time the trussell was prevented from jumping aside after receiving a blow, thus obviating all danger of the coin being double-struck. In later times under William the Conqueror, a moveable collar was adopted, according to Mr Hawkins, for the same purpose, the result being that the coins "are uniformly round, of the same size, and a pile of them is as perfectly cylindrical as one composed of coins of the present day[1]." If we come to later times, there are a set of dies, 187 in number, extending over a period from Edward III. to Henry VII., which were discovered a good many years ago in one of the vaults of the Record Office. They were in the usual proportion of very nearly two trussells to one pile, the former die having the chief part of the work; some, in fact, were split from the force of the blows. These dies have been described by Mr Field in Akerman's *Numismatic Chronicle* (Vol. VII. p. 20) accompanied by a good plate. The piles usually differ from that belonging to Mr Lewis, in their terminating in a spike, or tang, for the purpose of fixing them into the block of wood. Besides these I do not know of any mediæval dies of this country except a trussell for a single long-cross sterling of Alexander III. of Scotland, figured by Mr Cochran-Patrick in his *Records of the Coinage of Scotland.* It is $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. long, nearly cylindrical, but somewhat smaller towards the die.

Some piles were made tapering off into a wedge, instead of having a tang, to fix them into the block, and from this peculiar shape the officers, who had charge of them, doubtless derived

[1] This supposition is, however, no doubt erroneous. The uniform roundness of the coins would not depend upon a collar, but it points to the use of some early form of flan-cutter.

their name of "Custodes Cuneorum." The office of these "Clerks of the Irons" was one of great responsibility. It was their duty to receive every evening all the dies which had been delivered to the coiners in the morning, and to place them securely under lock and key. So strict were these regulations, that under James V. of Scotland, in 1519, the keys having been lost, an order of the Lords of the Council was given authorising the Treasurer to have the locks taken off, in order to deliver the irons to the Earl of Arran, who had obtained a commission to coin; but this was only to be done in the presence of the Privy Seal, Lord Erskine, and the Captain of Edinburgh Castle, although the Treasurer was himself to be responsible for the safe keeping of the irons all the while they were in use by the Earl of Arran[1]. Equal precautions were taken when the dies were worn out, or a new coinage was to be introduced, to prevent the abduction of any of the dies or puncheons. In 1451 we find it ordered "that the prouision be maid for the grauouris of yrnis, and now incontinent (*forthwith*) traist sworne men pas furth and resaif al the yrnis of the kingis strikaris bath of gold and siluir togidder with the letteris of grauing fra the grauouris, and befor the king and his consal thai be distroyit. Ande the new yrnis that sal be maide sal be graiuin within the cunye place[2]." In the English Mint faulty dies were to be delivered to the Clerk of the Irons, and to be defaced in presence of the Warden, Master and Comptroller, and not otherwise. Many other instances could be quoted to shew how great was the care taken to prevent forgery, but the foregoing will be sufficient to account for the rarity of implements, which were in such common use.

I now proceed to explain the manner in which the dies themselves were prepared. This process has been fully described by Benvenuto Cellini in his *Oreficeria* (chap. vii.), writ-

[1] Cochran-Patrick, *Records of the Coinage of Scotland*, Vol. I. p. 62.
[2] Cochran-Patrick, *Records, etc.*, Vol. I. p. 20 (c. 13).

ten only a few years later than the date of the dies before us, and from it my remarks on this portion of the subject are in the main taken. Cellini lived from 1500 to 1571.

The first thing requisite for engraving a die, was to prepare a set of small *puncheons* or *matrices* (the "letteris of grauing" of the proclamation cited above), on which all the separate parts of the coin required were engraved. The head of the prince was usually made in two parts, groups of figures or other objects being distributed over as many matrices as the die-sinker deemed necessary. The letters of the legend, the mint-marks, ornamentations, bordering, and all other minor details were engraved separately, each on its own puncheon. The puncheons were made of the finest steel and were prepared for engraving in the following manner. After being filed to the right shape the head was covered with a thick coat of a luting, made out of a mixture of clay, pounded glass, soot, bole armenian earth, and a little horse-dung, reduced to the consistency of dough with human urine, and it was then placed into a fire, hot enough to anneal it perfectly, and was there left by itself to cool, care however being taken to ensure the fire keeping up its temperature all through "a whole winter's night." When removed from the fire, the head was rubbed perfectly smooth on a stone, and was then ready to receive the engraving. The pile and trussell were made of the best iron, with heads of pure steel, about a finger's-breadth in thickness, fastened upon them, of the size of the coin required. These heads were prepared for engraving by exactly the same process as that just described for the puncheons, and this being done, the positions which the portrait, letters, bordering, etc., were to occupy were carefully marked out upon it with a pair of compasses. The "iron" was then firmly fixed into a very heavy block of lead, and was ready to receive the impressions of the different matrices. First the more important portions—the portrait, figures or arms—would be put together; then the

letters, bordering, counter-marks, and small details would be inserted till all was complete. The weight of the hammer used for striking these impressions was in proportion to the size of each puncheon; the larger ones, used for the portrait and the like, requiring a hammer of about three pounds weight. This operation was one which needed much practice and skill, for the greatest care had to be taken to lift up the puncheon from the die directly the blow was administered, for its rebounding ever so little would leave a mark on the die, and consequently blemish the work. When the engraving was completed, the die was filed all round the edge right up to the bordering, at the same time being bevelled off considerably, to prevent the edge turning up and the die becoming spoilt. It had now to be tempered, and in doing so, care had to be taken to subject it to no more heat than was just sufficient to temper it, while it was especially important that it should throw off a *fine* scale, for otherwise the work would be spoilt. This done, some of this fine iron-scale, unmixed with any other substance, was put upon a board, and the die was well rubbed upon it, to give it a polish, in order that the coin might leave the die perfectly smooth and bright, the uneven parts and hollows being treated with the same substance, thoroughly worked into them with a piece of cork. With this last finish the dies were ready to hand over to the coiner. Cellini mentions, as a proof of the expedition with which dies could be prepared by this mode of procedure, that he was able to stamp *thirty* dies, that is, piles and trussells, in one day, whereas, if he had prepared each die separately with graving tools—stipplers, gravers, chisels—he could not have finished two in the same time.

I now come to the description of the dies before us. The pile is 3 in. long, the trussell 4½ in.[1] In each case the steel head is fixed into a circle of iron, about 2¼ in. in diameter, and

[1] The trussell is figured on p. 110, drawn to scale, about seven-ninths of the original size.

$\frac{3}{4}$ in. thick. On the other side of this circle, the iron does not taper off, but, like the die-head, starts abruptly from it. This strange construction in the case of the trussell was perhaps merely intended to afford a rest to the hand; but its application to the pile appears unnecessary, unless its object be to support a moveable collar round the die-heads, which, if made sufficiently strong, would firmly hold the two dies in position almost independently of manual force. The length of the heads of both pile and trussell, which are $\frac{7}{8}$ in. and $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. long respectively (a length which would hardly be required, unless for some such purpose as this), seems to bear out this view, which is further corroborated by the same cylindrical form of both heads. This shape none of the other dies I have enumerated seem to possess, but it could be accounted for by this supposition.

Drawing of the Dies from sealing-wax impressions.

The coin to be struck with these dies, was a groat of Henry VIII.'s second coinage, the last coinage which was struck in silver of the old standard, till restored again by Elizabeth. The obverse die or pile bears the king's head and bust to his left, crowned, and reads:

PꞒDRIꞒ ⁘ VIII' ⁎ ꝺ' ⁎ 6 ⁎ R ⁎ ᴨ6L' ⁎ Z ⁎ FRᴨZVQ.

On the trussell are the Royal Arms in a shield divided into quarters by a cross fourchée, which extends to the edge and has a small cross in each fork. In the second quarter of the shield there are only two lions passant guardant. It has the usual legend:

POꝛVI DꞒV' ⁘ ᴨDIVTOꞒ' ⁎ ꟿꞒV.

I cannot be certain what the mint mark is, but it seems to be one unknown in this coinage, and not to be the same on both sides.

The workmanship of the pile is exceedingly rude. The portrait is barbarous and in very low relief[1]; the crown, the lettering, and the king's dress are clumsy and coarse; the inner circle instead of being neatly engrailed is composed merely of a thick line; finally, the legend, as will have been seen above, is most remarkably blundered. It forms in fact a contrast in every respect to the extremely neat execution and excellent portrait of the actual pieces of this issue, and would almost have been a disgrace to Henry in the worst days of his debasement of the coinage.

The trussell is of much better execution, and is evidently the work of quite another hand. The lettering and engrailing are very fairly engraved, and the legend has nothing in it to object to, except that the S in *Posui* is placed on its side. The Arms are not as neat as we usually find them on actual coins, but their most remarkable feature is the omission of one of the lions of the English arms in the second quarter. From the general appearance of the work and also from its size, I should be inclined to think that this die was intended for the reverse of Henry's first groat. It will be remembered that, according to Cellini, the die was to be made to the size of the coin required, and was to be filed away right up to the bordering. This latter injunction has been pretty carefully followed by the sinker of this trussell, and if he has also intended to observe the former, he has certainly made a die for striking larger coins than those of Henry's second coinage which have come down to us, but which would be quite suitable for producing the reverse of his first groat. On the other hand the thin thread-like circle round the shield, and the small crosses in the forks of the cross are a common characteristic of the second coinage.

[1] This is not very accurately indicated in the wood-cut.

In view of these discrepancies in style between the two dies, the question naturally arises whether they were intended to be used as a pair. For three reasons I think they were: first, because they are as nearly as possible of the same circumference; second, because they agree with one another in make and general appearance; third, because it is evident from the peculiar coat of gravel and shell with which each is encrusted that both have been lying in some river whose bed has been the means of *saving* them from corrosion. This strange property is, I believe, possessed by the bed of the Thames, and this would so far confirm the belief that they were found in the river at Gravesend. The first reason is however the one which to my mind carries most conviction with it. It will be observed that the pile, so far from being filed to the size of the required coin, has a large and useless margin all round. This is just what one would expect to find, if the dies were to be used as a pair, because the trussell being, as I have said, larger than is necessary for the coin indicated by the pile, the two could only be made to match, and the smallness of the latter be compensated for, by leaving such a margin as actually exists. I do not by this mean that I think the dies were sunk in the first instance as a pair to one another; the very incongruities of execution, style and size, which I have endeavoured to point out, would lead one to reject such a notion, but it appears to me very possible that the pile may have been made by some unskilled workman, to suit the trussell already in his possession. The whole of this question is however intimately connected with the most important consideration with respect to these dies, viz. whether they were genuine implements of the Mint, or whether they must be regarded as the tools of a forger.

In describing them I tried to call attention, more particularly in the case of the pile, to the great dissimilarity they show to the groat they are intended to represent, at least to every

specimen of that very common coin, which has come under my notice. If, again, we can fairly conclude that they were used as a pair, this consideration would by itself be sufficient to preclude the supposition of their ever having been employed in a mint so well conducted as was the Tower Mint at this time. I can give no reason of any sort for supposing this pile to have been anything but a forger's tool, though I have hinted at the bare possibility of the trussell having found its way by some dishonest means from the Mint into a false coiner's workshop, there to have a fellow adapted to it. This is however extremely unlikely when we consider how stringent were the regulations employed to secure the safety of the perfect dies, and to ensure the destruction of imperfect ones, such as this is.

On the whole, it seems probable that this trussell may have formed part of the stock-in-trade of a gang of forgers, obtained possibly from some more skilled member of the confraternity than they could count among their ranks, a prize too great to be discarded, and yet one to which they were unable to do justice, in preparing a pile to match it.

It is a matter of notoriety that forgery was very rife under this king and his successors, as the proclamations on the subject show; the debasement of the coinage which began in 1543, offering to false coiners an opportunity of carrying on their trade with less chance of detection, which they were not likely to throw away. It may at first sight seem unreasonable to affirm that a debased coinage would be a stimulus to forgery, but this seemingly paradoxical assertion is, as Mr John Evans has pointed out[1], easily explained when we consider how difficult it is to distinguish between different degrees of baseness, while a still further safeguard against detection is afforded by the legal tender itself being necessarily more or less rude and ill-struck, owing to the natural hardness of the base metal to be coined.

[1] *Numis. Chron.* 1864.

I cannot pretend to say whether these dies, imitating a fine silver coinage, were intended to produce false money while that coinage was in circulation, or whether they were employed during the subsequent debasement on the supposition that people would eagerly accept what they imagined to belong to the memory of better days. However this may be, it seems very probable that these dies were of foreign origin. Early in Edward VI.'s reign a proclamation was issued against forgery, particular notice being taken of the quantities of false coin imported from beyond the seas. That Paris was one of the places which contributed to this trade is sufficiently proved by the discovery some 20 years ago of a pair of dies for a groat of Henry VIII. in the Seine.

This fact is mentioned by Mr Evans in a paper contributed to the "Numismatic Chronicle" in 1864. He does not mention what groat they were intended for, but this perhaps may afford a clue to the real history of the dies under discussion. He goes on however to describe a forged groat of one of the debased coinages, with the falling collar, which only differed from the genuine piece in reading FERNANDVS in place of HENRIC: VIII., and in having the lions passant in the wrong direction. It appeared to be of yellow brass, slightly silvered over. Mr Evans remarks on the cleverness of using FERNANDVS, the letters of which generally resemble HENRICVS. For my own part I fail to see any resemblance in it either to HENRIC (or ꝵ€ПRIC). VIII., for I am not aware that his name ever appears uncontracted. Three other groats and a half-groat of the same sort were found with it, and a false groat of the same type was found at Fulbourn, I believe, some years ago, proving that they had found their way as far as Cambridgeshire. Much more ingenious is the name P€DRIC, used on the pile before us, which in the first letter alone materially differs from ꝵ€ПRIC. The D (if D it be) is artfully composed of an I and a semicircle, which might almost as easily be

taken for an ᴨ, while the final ᾳ has only the cross-stroke to distinguish it from ᾳ. The remainder of the legend has nothing peculiar about it, except the extraordinary blunder of FRᾺZVQ instead of FRᾺᴨᾳᾳ in the king's style. This I can only account for by supposing that the French forger —and this I think helps to bear out the foreign origin of the dies—was too patriotic to acknowledge himself, even on a false coin, the subject of his national foe, and that rather than consent to such dishonour he has placed an unintelligible word upon his coining-iron, in place of one of the usual designations of "la belle France." A similar display of national feeling occurs on another Anglo-French forgery, which Mr King has mentioned in a paper on the Mill and its relations to false coining, with which I conclude the present notice.

INVENTION OF THE COINING-PRESS.

The coining-press, in French *moulin* (whence our term "milled" money, as opposed to "hammered"), was invented by a carpenter, one Aubry Olivier. He was employed to use his new machine in the mint of Henri II., from the year 1553, and the excellence of that king's coinage, the "Henricus aureus," holding the same place in the French series as the crown of Cromwell does in our own, bears ample testimony to the great superiority of the new method. But under the impoverished régime of Henri III., the use of the moulin for current coin was abandoned, as too expensive, and was restricted to the making of medals and jettons.

It is clear that this moulin of Aubry Olivier's was the complete coining-press, with horizontal lever heavily loaded at each end to give the screw impetus in its descent (hence also called *balancier*)—for Cellini, in his chapter on the striking of medals, talks of a press (*la vite*) as in common use in the

Roman mint early in the same century, and extols its advantages over the old method, declaring that by its means with a couple of turns of the screw he could produce the same work as with a hundred blows of the hammer. This *vite*, however, was a very simple machine, worked by a long arm attached to the screw which required the united force of four men to put it in action; the power of the lever not being assisted by the application of the centrifugal force, where lies the great advantage of the completed *balancier*.

Cellini's description of the *vite* of his days, somewhat hard to understand in his colloquial Tuscan, is much elucidated by the discovery of one of these primitive machines at Bourg-le-roi near Alençon (January 15, 1847)[1]. It is nothing more than a stout iron case (*étau*), 10 inches in height, and slightly conical, having a long tang at the base for the purpose of fixing it steadily in a block of wood driven deeply into the ground. A *slot*, two inches square, is cut through the middle of this case, to receive the dies, which likewise were made square, and fitted edgeways into a band, or collar of iron, so as to prevent their slipping the one over the other. A male screw, $1\frac{3}{8}$ in. thick, of iron worked through a female screw of copper traversing the axis of the whole, and was turned by means of a long spanner, fitting on to its top. The other end was thus brought to bear with great power upon the dies, placed evenly within the above-mentioned slot.

The machine in question had evidently been employed by a forger for the purposes of his nefarious trade, for it was discovered a metre below the surface, carefully concealed in some old foundations of a building, along with the other instruments serving for its use.

Enclosed in a leaden box were seven pairs of square dies, to be used in the *moulin*; each pair yet fixed in its collar.

[1] Described in a copious and most instructive memoir, by L. de la Sicotère, in the *Revue Numismatique* for 1847, p. 281.

They were for the half-imperial of Charles V., the rose-noble of Edward IV., the écu-au-soleil of François I., and two different testoons of the same king; the others were illegible from rust; also nine piles and eight trussells, much worn by the hammer, and in greatly more damaged condition. No more than two could be made out, one for the angel of our Henry VII., and another for a testoon of François I. The writer of the memoir notices that in the square dies the lettering and engrailing (*grenetis*) had been put in with punches, but the portraits were executed with the graver. The dies were of very fine, hard-tempered steel. All the necessary tools accompanied the deposit, such as three hammers of different weights, a small cold-chisel, pair of compasses, small shears, two moulds in iron for casting the blanks, and a few lumps of lead.

This discovery attests the truth of the argument so strongly urged by the old conservatives of the 17th century, against the adoption of the press in the French mint, viz. that its general use would certainly become a great temptation to false coining, by reason of the *secrecy* with which it could be worked, making no noise at all—whereas the old method betrayed its operations to the neighbourhood by the clatter of hammer and dies.

The articles found thus carefully stowed away must have been the stock-in-trade of a forger on a grand scale, for the foregoing list shews they were intended for the imitation not merely of the coin of the realm, but for the European pieces then circulating in France. In the case of our Angel, it is amusing to observe how the national vanity of the engraver had so far got the better of his discretion, that he gave "France" the precedence of "England" in the king's style. Traces of gold leaf still adhering to the surfaces of these dies, proved that the material they were employed upon were blanks of pewter or lead thickly gilt.

The forgery of money was an art long cultivated, and brought

to high perfection by the ingenious Gauls; "solertissimum id genus hominum," as Cæsar calls them. Charles IX., a king who like our Charles II. "would have done better at any other trade than his own," and a first-rate worker in metal, greatly prided himself on the perfection with which he produced his own *écus* in base metal, and boasted that he was the best false-coiner in all his kingdom. The unlucky Philippe Mestrelle, who "intulit artes agresti Latio"—having been called over by Elizabeth to improve her coinage, and to whose skill is due the elegant *milled* money of that reign—was unable to resist the temptation of so fine a field for the exercise of his ingenuity at the expense of "perfide Albion," and consequently finished his career at Tyburn in the year 1569. In the following century, Tavernier, in his description of Constantinople and the trade with Turkey, mentions it as a regular practice with the French merchants to import vast quantities of imitations of Turkish currency in very debased silver. This fraud had been carried to such a height as to provoke at last the long-suffering Ottoman government to make an example, which they did with truly Oriental wit. A large consignment of such debased coin, addressed to a notorious offender in this line, was seized in the port and conveyed to the mint. There it was melted down, and the silver it contained separated from the "intolerable deal" of alloy. The consignee was then sent for, was shewn the little ingot of silver, and the huge mass of brass, and told he might now take away his property without further question.

The dies, the subject of the present discussion, are an early proof of the existence of such a *fabrique pour l'étranger* at Paris, about the time when Olivier's *moulin* was first introduced into the operations of the mint. Very crafty forethought lay at the bottom of the intentional blundering of Henry's name and titles; the general appearance of the coin sufficed to impose upon the illiterate public, and at the same time

the passer ("smasher" in modern parlance) might hope to escape punishment, if detected, upon the plea that he had not forged the *current coin* of the realm. A similar evasion gave birth to the numerous "duffer" halfpence of the last, and early part of the present century, with the legend GLORIOUS PELLEW, and similar names, imitating to the casual glance the style of the Georges; but which could be put into circulation without danger to the knowing ones, as it could, if necessary, be proved that these pieces were in their nature only tokens.

The following wood-cut is copied from one in the first edition (1577) of Holinshed's Chronicles, and is here subjoined as giving a good illustration of the process of coining in mediaeval times.

SUMMER.

WINTER.

Norwegian Clog Calendar of the Fifteenth Century.

One-fourth of real size.

XI. Description of a Norwegian Calendar. Communicated by Eiríkr Magnússon, Esq., M.A., Trinity College.

[May 13, 1878.]

The old-time almanac, to the contents of which I am going to call attention, was brought to this country from Norway about half a century ago (either in 1826 or 1829) by the Rev. Richard Carter Smith, M.A. His daughter, Mrs Atkinson of Clare College Lodge, was kind enough, some time ago, to inform me of the existence of the document, which had been carefully preserved in the family, and to persuade her brother, Richard G. Smith, Esq., the present owner of it, to allow me to examine it, and to exhibit it to the Society on the present occasion.

In shape this calendar represents the familiar type of the so-called clog-almanacs of England, more specially called "*the Staffordshire cloggs.*" This term for calendars, scored on solid objects of portable nature, has been generally adopted in England ever since that learned keeper of the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, and Professor of Chymistry in the University, *Dr R. Plot*, wrote his researchful *Natural History of Staffordshire.* So far as I have been able to trace, he is the earliest authority for the use of this term, as applied to these calendars. He introduces the subject of these Staffordshire antiquities in the following words:

Canutus took possession of the whole kingdom, and raigned sole King of England for 20 *years: during which time, and the raignes of his two successors also Danish Kings of England, many of their Customs and Utensills, no doubt on't, obtain'd*

here, amongst which I guess I may reckon an ancient sort of Almanacks they call Cloggs, made upon square sticks, still in use here amongst the meaner sort of people, which I cannot but think must be some remains of the Danish government, finding the same with little difference to have been used also formerly, both in Sweden and Denmarke, as plainly appears from Olaus Magnus and Olaus Wormius.

After this statement, to which I shall return presently, the Doctor proceeds:

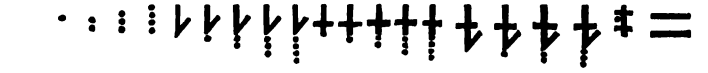
They are here called Cloggs, for what reason I could not learn, nor indeed imagin, unless from the English Logg (a term we usually give to any piece of wood), or from the likeness of some of the greater sorts of them to the Cloggs, wherewith we usually restrain the wild, extravagant, mischievous motions of some of our doggs.

If these *cloggs* were really a species of almanac adopted by the English from the Danes, as Dr Plot maintains, and all English writers who have dealt with the subject since his day, it must be assumed as *natural* that with the Danish thing, its Danish name should also have been adopted, and as *certain*, that with it its Danish type must have been preserved, in all its essential characteristics at least, at the same time.

But, as to the name, it is a matter beyond any question, that at the time, when the supposed adoption of these Danish time-markers took place, that is to say, in the 11th century, the Old-Norse language knew no such word as clogg for calendars scored on wood, or on any other object of a solid, portable nature, or for such pieces of wood, or of other material, as were specially used for carving runes on. The standing term for logs or pieces of wood, or of other material on which runes were cut, was *kefli*, a word which cannot possibly be supposed to have corrupted in Saxon mouths into *clogg*. On the other hand, clog seems to be a word well known in English dialects for a *piece of*

wood fastened to a string for husbandry purposes[1]. The word is, I think without a doubt, a good old English word, akin to German *klotz*, Danish *klods*, Swedish *klots*, all meaning a log of wood, but in none of these languages used for such pieces of wood, or of any other substance, on which calendars were habitually carved. The clog-almanacs show, that it has been customary to hang them up by a piece of string, when they were not in use, most of them showing at one end a hole, through which such a string must have been drawn, or some other contrivance, to which it must have been attached, for the purpose of hanging them up when they were not consulted or carried about as controllers of passing time.

As to the *type*, it is a fact, which hitherto has been entirely overlooked, that it is *not Danish at all*. The typical Danish clog is a *runic* stave; that is, its seven dominical letters are represented by the first seven letters of the later runic alphabet, and its golden numbers by runes as well. But on the Staffordshire clog, so far as I know, runes never occur. Its dominical letters are represented by straight lines, or else by scores in the edge where two planes meet. But the character of golden numbers is exclusively peculiar of this very kind of calendar:



I II III IV V VI VII VIII IX X XI XII XIII XIV XV XVI XVII XVIII XIX

and never occurs on the typical primstave of Denmark.

Thus the Staffordshire clog preserves, in reality, no feature distinctive of the typical runstave of Denmark.

If we look a little closer into the matter of the Danish origin of this kind of clog, we shall be able to judge, on the evidence of probability, at least, what plausibility there is for the assumption, which makes the barbarous Northern free-

[1] Halliwell's *Dictionary of archaic and provincial words*, I. p. 256.

booter of the 11th century the calendric teacher of the Englishman of the time.

It is only repeating an historical truism, to say that, where a custom has longest prevailed and struck deepest root among the masses as an unavoidably necessary item of their civilisation, there the longest time and the most radical measures are required for the complete eradication of the same. Now, we know that the Danish element was longest established in the North of England and, as a matter of course, we should expect an important item of Dano-christian civilisation, which even up to the end of the 17th century was understood, and turned to practical purposes by the "meaner sort" of people in non-Danish Staffordshire, to have been known in some way to the people in the old Danish kingdom of Northumberland. Such, however, is not the case. There is only scanty evidence of probability to show, that the clog-calendar was used in the North of England. The absence of a positive evidence on that head need, however, amount to no more than an accident; nor does it warrant any conclusion to the effect that clog-almanacs were never known there; but what it warrants, is a conclusion to the effect that this supposed purely Danish institution took deeper root among, and got firmer hold of, strangers than of its own inventors and cultivators; and that, in the nature of the matter, is a most unusual thing ever to happen.

Taking a comparative survey of Northern clog-almanacs, we find that, by the type of their Sunday letters, they fall into two distinct groups: the clog *with* runes, to signify the Sunday letters, and the golden number, a type which obtains through Denmark and Sweden; and the clog *without* runes, which obtains throughout Norway. This clog may be said, broadly speaking, to be identical in type with the Staffordshire clog. Its Sunday letters are either straight lines, scored on the planes, or else scores in the edges, where two planes meet. Its mark-day emblems bear a singular resemblance in many cases

to the same emblems on the Staffordshire clog, and occur, as far as my observation as yet goes, never on Danish or Swedish staves. From the missionary history of the North, we know that, while Denmark and Sweden received Christianity chiefly through German agency, Norway was redeemed from paganism principally by English enterprise. At that time the vernacular alphabet of the whole of Scandinavia was the runic. It was only a natural adaptation of a foreign to a vernacular time-marking contrivance, that the first seven letters of the Roman alphabet, which did service in the Roman Calendar as Sunday letters, should be replaced, for the same purpose, by the first seven letters of the current Scandinavian alphabet, these letters being ᚠᚢᚦᚬᚱᚴᚼ. We are not at liberty, I think, to presume, that this natural mode of adaptation which obtained in Sweden and Denmark should have been discarded without a cause in Norway. And still less are we at liberty to assume it as the result of a pure accident, that the type actually adopted by the Norwegians, should agree entirely with that which in the 17th century turns out to be popularly current in Staffordshire.

Further, it should not be forgotten, that the Christian dominical letter-system had been known and used for calendric purposes throughout England for centuries before the Norwegian had any notion of it as a time-marking contrivance. To suppose that the semi-barbarous Norwegian, during the very time that he was struggling for the maintenance of his dear paganism against the "odious" creed of "White-Christ," took care to popularize the fundamental law of the Christian Church, which enjoined due observance of Saints' days, with their fasts and vigils, with a view to the utter eradication of the pagan high-day observances, is as preposterous, as it is absurd, for a moment to imagine that Englishmen, observing the Christian cultus for centuries, were incapable, all the time, of providing themselves with a popular and practical contrivance, serving as a guide to the proper observances of the ecclesiastical seasons,

so as to prevent penances being incurred from ignorance, and only awoke to the practical necessity of the invention, when red-handed rovers of the North-sea came to their rescue. Still more out of the way would it be, to suppose that, under the circumstances already alluded to, the semi-pagan *Norwegian* of the 11th century coming occasionally down on the English coasts as a furious freebooter, or visiting the country as a trader in furs, but having nothing to do with the rule of the country, should actually have enforced upon it a Christian calendar, an invention of the practical use of which he was, in all probability, blindly ignorant.

It is, thus, evident, that the Staffordshire clog cannot be of Danish origin; and there is nothing to prove, that it could be derived from a Norwegian prototype, while, in reality, everything tends to show, that the Norwegian clog must derive its origin from England. This necessarily throws the antiquity of the Staffordshire clog back by centuries. But there is nothing formidable in the thought. For it is only on the ground of its having been an ancient institution in the English Church, that the fact of its being used and understood by the common people of Staffordshire, in the 17th century, can be understood.

I have already mentioned, how all Northern calendars fall into two main groups according to the type of the dominical letters; namely, the group in which the Sunday letters are represented by a straight line or a notch, and the group in which the Sunday letters are represented in runic characters. Each group falls again into two main divisions: calendars with the golden number, and calendars without it. The calendars belonging to the former of these divisions are properly called primstaves, or golden number staves, from *prim* or *prime*, the popularly current term for the golden number, originally derived from *prima*, i. e. *luna*. This group was the clerks' almanac, because it supplied the key to the lunar cycle, thereby to the Paschal term, and the movable feasts throughout the year.

It was enforced by law, that a copy of this calendar should be kept at every parish church in the North. The second group, which showed no golden number, was the layman's calendar, supplying only a guide to the proper observance of the immovable feast-days with their fasts and vigils. Both groups of calendars had one main feature in common, namely this, that the feasts and Saints' days were distinguished by peculiar emblems, which either pointed to the principal event in a Saint's life, or represented some of his attributes, or else conveyed an appropriate reminder of the significance of the season of the year for domestic life, or industrial pursuits by land or by sea. To this latter class of calendars the one now under notice belongs.

Passing over to the contents of it, you will observe that the straight lines, which do the duty of dominical letters, are divided throughout into sevens by lines scored across the narrower planes of the stave. This division, I need scarcely remark, means weeks. The stave follows the heathen tradition of dividing the annual cycle into two half-years, the reason of which I have set forth already in my paper on the calendar from Lapland (Communications, 1877, pp. 77 ff.). One side represents the winter season, the other that of summer. The winter season begins with the 14th of October, to which is attached the emblem of a mitten, and ends on the 13th of April. But you will observe, that to the last week on this side of the calendar there are added two lines seemingly intended to signify some extra days. They have however in reality nothing to do with the days of this half-year, but are purely accidental mistakes on the part of the carver. He has namely scored the dominical letter lines first throughout the whole length of the side of the stave. When he afterwards divided them into weeks, it turned out that he had scored too many. He left, however, the oversight uncorrected, because it could never cause any confusion, every peruser of staves knowing

that the last day of the winter season must always be the 13th of April, since the first day, by which the Summer season on the other side of the stave began, must invariably be the 14th of that Month, called throughout Norway, the first day of Summer, *Förste Sommerdag.* It is thus quite evident, that these two lines have no hidden calendric signification whatever, but are purely accidental mistakes on the part of the carver, left uncorrected, because they could not be a source of any confusion. The winter season consists of 26 weeks exactly, or 182 days; the summer season of 26 weeks and one day, or 183 days altogether; consequently the year contains the regular Julian number of 365 days.

We next come to consider the relation between the dominical signs in this calendar and the dominical letters of the Roman Church calendar. In that matter this calendar presents some peculiarities which must be noticed. It should never be forgotten, although writers on clog-calendars often overlook the fact, that the foundation, on which the dominical letter system of the clogs rests, is the dominical letter system of the Roman Church calendar. Whether the clog-almanac has its dominical letters marked by seven strokes, as in the present, or by notches, as in many of the Staffordshire clogs, or by runic characters, as is the case with the Danish and the Swedish Primstaves, the foundation of it all are the seven dominical letters of the Roman catholic Church calendar, *a, b, c, d, e, f, g.* These seven letters being repeated in the same order as often as there were weeks in the year, it followed, that every day of the month had its fixed Sunday letter, and consequently that every fixed Saint's day fell in every year on the same Sunday letter. This is an important thing to remember in dealing with the calendars of the old time, when the popular way of dating events and occurrences, was to fix them by the Saint's day next before which, on which, or next after which, they took place. In order therefore to rightly understand the clog-calendar

arrangement in every case, it is necessary to read them by the guidance afforded by the standard calendar of the Church. In this respect it is important to notice, how the old laws of Scandinavia, more especially, with regard to the present case, the old laws of Norway, provided by a simple formulary for the accurate observance by the laity of all the fixed Saints' days, and church festivals throughout the year. In the 26th chapter of the Church Law of Archbishop John the younger of Drontheim, from 1280, this formula is thus given[1]: From the thirteenth day of Yule are XIX nights to Paul's mass, thence are VIII nights to Candlemas, thence are two and XX nights to Matthias' mass, thence are XVI nights to Gregory's mass, XVII if there be leap year, then are XIII nights to Mary's mass, thence are two and XX nights to Magnus' mass, then are IX nights to the Rogation day, then are VII nights to the mass of the Apostles Philip and James, then are II nights to the Cross

[1] Norges gamle Love. Udgivne ved R. Keyser og P. A. Munch. vol. 2, pp. 359—60.

Fra þrettanda deghi i iolom ero .xix. netr till Pals messo. þaðan ero .viij. netr till kyndyls messo. þeðan ero tvær nætr oc .xx. till Mathie messo. þæðan ero .xvi. netr till Gregorii messo .xvij. ef laupar er. þa ero xiij netr till Marie messo. þaðan ero .ij. netr oc .xx. till Magnus messo. þa ero .ix. netr till gagndagsens. þa ero .vij. netr till postola messo Philippi et Jacobi þa ero .ij. netr till krossmesso. þeðan ero .xii. netr till Haluardz messo. þa ero xiii netr oc xx till Botolfs messo. þa ero .vij. netr till Jonsvoku. þa ero .v. netr till Petrs voku. þa ero .iij. netr till Suipthuns voku. þa ero .vi. netr till Sæliu manna voku. þaðan ero xii netr till Margrettar messo. þa ero .ij. netr till Marie messo Magdalene. þa ero .iij. netr till Jacobs messo. þa ero .iij. netr till Olafs voku fyrru. þa ero fim netr till Olafs uoku siðare. þa ero .vij. netr till Lafrans voku. þa ero .v. netr till Marie messo. þa ero .ix. netr till Bartholomei messo. þa ero fimtan netr till Marie messo siðare. þa ero .vi. netr till krossmesso. þa ero .vij. netr till Mathei messo. þa ero .viij. netr till Mikials messo. þa ero .ix. netr oc .xx. till tvæggia postola messo. Symonis et Jude. þa ero .iiij. netr till alra hæilagra messo. þa ero .x. netr till Martæins messo. þa ero tolf netr till Clemez messo. þa ero .vij. netr till Andres messo. þa ero .vi. netr till Nikulas messo. þa ero .xv. netr till Thomas messo. en þa ero. iiij. netr till iola daga.

mass, thence are XII nights to Hallward's mass, then there are three and XXX nights to Botolph's mass, then there are VII nights to John's wake, then there are V nights to Peter's wake, then are IIJ nights to Swithun's wake, then there are VI nights to the wake of the men of Selja, thence are XII nights to Margaret's mass, then there are IJ nights to the mass of Mary Magdalene, then there are IIJ nights to James' mass, then there are IIJ nights to the first Olaf's wake, then there are five nights to the later Olaf's wake, then are VIJ nights to Lawrence wake, then are V nights to Mary's mass, then are IX nights to Bartholomew's mass, then are fifteen nights to the later Mary's mass, then are VI nights to Cross mass, then are VIJ nights to Matthew's mass, then are VIII nights to Michael's mass, then are IX and XX nights to the mass of the two Apostles Simon and Jude, then are IIIJ nights to All hallows' mass, then are X nights to Martin's mass, then are twelve nights to Clement's mass, then are VII nights to Andrew's mass, then are VI nights to Nicolas' mass, then are XV nights to Thomas' mass, but then there are IIIJ nights to Christmas day.

This law is an important record, as showing what Saints' days had by that time become fixed festivals in the Norwegian Church. But the principal interest in it for our purpose is the prescription which it supplies to any one of the laity who cared to provide himself with a handy time-marker showing at a glance the fixed festivities of the Christian year which it behoved everyone duly to observe. This very prescription, it is easy to see, is a compromise between the Roman Church calendar, and the various terms, at which, by time-honoured popular tradition, the year began in different parts. For when the distance in time between the fixed Saints' days to be observed throughout the year was once determined, the question as to the proper date for the commencement of the year was reduced to one of secondary importance. But then,

it will be asked, how did the untutored laity come to place the Saints' festivals on their proper days of the month when, f. e. in some places the year began on the 14th of October, in others on the 23rd of November, in others again on the 23rd of December, &c.? This followed as a matter of course when the right date of the first day of the year was known as it was always known, because the first Saints' day after the commencement of the year served as a starting point from which, by the afore-named law formula, the feasts of the Saints were disposed at their proper intervals throughout the cycle of the year. And for the purpose of ensuring absolute accuracy in this all important branch of the Church discipline the ecclesiastical law contained another fundamental provision, to which I shall now briefly call attention. In the ecclesiastical law of Archbishop John already mentioned, in the 20th chapter, it is provided, that

[1]Every priest, who hath a parish church, shall cut (i.e. issue) a cross and let it go abroad before every Sunday and feast day, as many nights (*i.e.* days) in advance thereof, as the people of the district agree upon....But if he cut not according as the law ordaineth, or he mis-cut crosses, or he exercise not due

[1] L. c. pp. 355—56.

Hvær prestr skall kros skera. sa er hældr kirkiu sokn. oc fara lata firir hælgum deghi huærium oc fostu deghi. sua morghum nattom firir. sem fylkis mænn værda sattr a.... En ef han sker æigi sem mælt er. eða misker krossa. eða ræflar han ægi. þá gialde han byscupi halfann annan æri firir huærn kros er æigi for at rettu. En ef han sker kros at skilum oc kœmr han æigi i natstaŏ rettan. þa skall han eftir fara. oc uita a huærium bænda*. stoŏ oc stæimfni þæim þingh. en siŏan gange han aftr eða riŏi oc hafe meŏ ser uatta ‹tua. oc seghi ollum till at þæir kome till þings. oc skyri sik meŏ æiŏi sinum oc gialde kross uiti. a þui þingi. ef prestr vill stæmfna. En ef hin uill huarke suæria ne viti festa. þa skall prestren eða bœndr æsta liŏs till at fara at honum a þingi. oc taka af honum halfu mæira. hafe bœndr halft. en prestr halfan annan œyri. En ef bœndr synia honum liŏs till atfarar. þa er sa sæckr halfum oŏrum œyri.

* So altered by me. The edition has the unintelligible *hænde* which the context shows is a mere blunder of the MSS.

vigilance about their transmission, then shall he pay to the bishop 1½ ounce for every cross that did not go according to regulation. But if he issue a cross in due time and it does not reach the right place at night, then shall he make an inquiry as to who of the bonder-men caused delay, and him he shall summon before a court, whereupon he shall go back or ride, having with him two witnesses, and he shall call upon all (men, *i.e.* householders) to come to the court to purge themselves by their oath, and to pay cross-fine at the court, according as the priest summoneth. But if the accused will neither swear nor handsel the fine, then shall the priest or the bondermen call people to their assistance to press him at the court and exact from him a twofold fine, &c.

This law-provision is very instructive in more than one way: It shows, how the church copied heathen customs for the purpose of enforcing due observance of its holiest rites. From time immemorial it had been customary in Norway, for the chief of a district to "cut up a war-arrow" as the phrase was, which meant, to send out a summons accompanied by an arrow cut out of wood generally, to all his liegemen, to accompany him on an expedition, whenever he wanted either to invade a neighbour's territory or to meet an invading foe, in defence of his own[1]. This was a summons which it was one of the highest duties of a citizen to obey, as its meaning was no less religious than military. In copying the form of it for the requirements of the discipline of the church, a more absolute obedience was thereby ensured. In this way then the date of the due observance of every festival was correctly fixed, provided the priest was so much of a computist, that his calculations might be relied upon, which however this very law provision assumes as a rule to which exceptions were not unknown. Nor were they. Even the law itself gave faultful information on the point, and there is hardly a MS. extant of

[1] Nyere Landslov. Landværnebolk. *N. G. L.* 2. 35.

Archbishop John's canon law, which gives all the Saints' days' intervals correctly. And we shall see presently, that in this respect our calendar is not quite faultless. Before, however, I enter further on that subject, I would observe that in stating the intervals between the Saints' days, two modes of calculation were observed. Either both Saints' days which bounded the interval were counted inclusive, in imitation of the octave calculation of the Church; or only one of the Saints' days bounding the interval was counted inclusive, in that case invariably the second. Thus the Epiphany day bore throughout the North the title of *þrettandi, i.e.* thirteenth day of Yule; which it is, if Christmas day and Epiphany day are both included. But by excluding the former we get in the *Twelfth night* of the English Church an illustration of the second method. It is the vacillation between these two methods of calculation which is so frequent a cause of confusion both in the MSS. of the Church laws, and in the calendars, and we shall find in the present one an illustration of this confusion also.

One further point of great importance must be noticed in connection with this part of my discourse. To guide ignorant laity to the due observance of ecclesiastical festivals was not the only purpose which the old time-markers served. They answered another, and a most important, purpose, as well: from the commencement of the Christian Era in the North (10th cent.) down to a time long after the introduction of printing *they formed the basis of historical chronology.* In the olden time the Saint's day was the point of time by which historical events were fixed, and documents were dated, when the Julian calendar was not followed, the aid of which was much more rarely resorted to in the North than that of the Saints' days' cycle. Now, it is a fact, that not only on calendar-staves are the Saints' days frequently put down on the wrong day of the month, but even the calendars prefixed to the earliest printed Breviaries betray the same vacillation to a startling degree. It cannot be main-

tained for a moment that the misdated calendar was a document to which no credence was given in matters chronological, any more than it can be insisted on, that in matters ecclesiastical it was not a trusted guide. Its existence at the present day is the best refutation of such a supposition. At present no one can say to what extent confusion in historical dates has resulted from the misdating of the Saints' days on the old Primstaves. To judge from the frequent occurrence of staves belonging to the misdated category, it is safe to say that the confusion must be enormous. Not that the date was originally wrong by any means, but that it became wrong, when deciphered on the basis of the standard calendar of the Catholic Church by later historians, ignorant of the real case of the original date. Herein lies the great interest which attaches to the study of these old time-markers, a study which cannot be delayed any longer, if the last aid for the correction of the historical chronology of the North is not to pass away into dust. It is, no doubt, a feasible, though certainly a very arduous task, to bring about, on the basis of the errors here referred to, a classification of the existing mass of runestaves. It is in my opinion quite possible to localize the classification according to dioceses, for on that principle the grouping of them must be carried out, as the errors seem certainly to go by dioceses. When this is done a firm basis will have been laid for the eventual correction of historical data in each diocese, for the period which the staves can be proved to cover. That foundation laid, an immense service will have been done to the study of Scandinavian history.

As I have said before, the calendar begins on the 14th of October, *St Calixtus' day*, dominical letter G. It may, perhaps, be asked on what grounds I come to fix on that date for the commencing day of the year. The matter is easily explained. With the Norwegians the winter was from time immemorial the season of the year, (was the half-year), which

preceded the summer (see my Lapland Calendar, page 83). Norwegian staves divide the year generally into two halves; and the one half is Norway's winter, Oct. 14—April 13; and the other half is Norway's summer, April 14—Oct. 13. The question as to the precedence of these two seasons is decided by the Concurrent. On staves where runes are employed for Sunday letters the Concurrent, or last day in the year is easily recognizable by the fact, that it has the same Sunday letter as the first day of the year. On clogs which use mere straight strokes or scores to signify their Sunday letters, the Concurrent is found represented by the single stroke which follows immediately after the 52nd heptade. In the present case this stroke falls unmistakeably on the 13th of October, and that therefore is the extra, or concurrent, or, which is the same, the last day of the year, dom. lett. G. Thus it happens that the dominical letters from the 14th of October to the 31st of December coincide with the Roman calendar system. But from 1st January, inclusive, the dominical letters of this calendar stand in advance of those of the Roman Church calendar by one, for this reason that A is here not repeated on the 1st of January, because the 31st of December and the 1st of January have nothing to do with the end and the beginning of the year. From the 1st of January, therefore, to the end of the year every Saint's day falls, or should fall, where it does not actually do so from reasons which will be mentioned presently, on a wrong Sunday letter, though on the right day of the month. And to define the error more accurately, they fall on the dominical letter which follows the right one, consequently are wrong by one letter.

I now come to the feast-days of the calendar.

1. The first day of the year is the *Feast of St Calixtus*, October 14th, (dom. lett. G). As usually it is marked here with a *mitten* for emblem to signify the cold season approaching. It has also been suggested that the emblem might have sprung out of the

provincial pronunciation of the popular name given to the day throughout Norway, which was *Vet-Nætt*, winternight, meaning really the first day of winter. *Vet* being near in form to the common name for mitten which was *Vaat*, Icel. *vöttr*, it is not impossible that the emblem may be due to a confusion between *Vet* and *Vaat*. An old weather prognostic attached to this day makes the winter predict its coming in this way:

Vet-Nætt (winter-night) you may await me; at Forebode (28 Oct.) *surely I come.*

If I come not before All Saints' mass I bend down cone and twig.

which shows, that in the experience of the people of old, the later the winter set in the heavier was the snow-fall supposed to be, as also that it must come in full severity some day during the fortnight between the 14th of October and the 1st of November. It was also a common belief among the old Norwegians, that good weather on 'winter night' augured a good winter throughout. In the catalogue of the Saints' days in the old Church law of Archbishop John, referred to above, there is no mention of this Saint's day, consequently it must have been introduced later into the Church.

2. The 21st of October, (dom. lett. G), is marked with a cross simply. The day commemorates the martyrdom of *Ursula and the* 11,000 *virgins*, who in the middle of the 5th century, according to the legend, set out from Britain, and were slain by the Huns at Cologne. The Norwegian name given to the day is either *Ursula* or *Kölnis meyjar*, the maidens of Cologne. The emblem generally accompanying the day is a *group of women-figures* or a *ring*, which latter emblem probably betokens a warning against doing, what popular superstition forbade to be done in the words: *On that day thou shalt not do the thing that goes round;* which I presume means a caution against plying the hand-quern. This feast is not mentioned in Archbishop John's Church law of 1280.

3. The 28th of October, (dom. lett. G), is here marked with a *cross*, the main beam slightly flattened out at the top. It is the day of the *Apostles St Simon and St Jude*. This is the first Saint's day mentioned in Archbishop John's Church law during the winter half-year. The emblems that are generally met with for this day in Norwegian calendars are a *triple cross*, or *a sledge*, indicative of snow making that engine of conveyance practicable. Sometimes the general attributes of the apostles are met with as emblems of the day, namely, *a spear*, *a sword*, and *a saw*. On this day it was customary, in former times, for newly married people of scanty means to go about the country-side among friends and relatives, and beg for things necessary for their household use, principally victuals. These couples were called *Buste-Mand* and *Buste-Kone*. But what the etymology of *Buste* may be I cannot say. A popular name given to this day was *Fyrirboð*, Foreboding, or the day that boded the hard winter approaching in all earnest. Currently it was otherwise called *Simo messa* or *Tveggjapostula messa*.

4. By the rule of Archbishop John's law there should be between the last-named feast and *All Saints' Day*, the 1st of Nov., (dom. lett. D), four days, which agrees with the calendar, if the Saint's day, from which the calculation runs, is counted exclusive, as is the rule of that law throughout. The emblem is a *large cross*, the square beam ends and the top being markedly flattened. The emblems, by which, otherwise, this day is marked, are a *square slab with crosses on*, signifying the Saints' grave; sometimes *a ship* or *a boat* turned bottom upmost, in signification of sea-voyages coming to an end for the season. The Norwegian name for the day was *Helgomessa*.

5. *All Soul's Day*, Nov. 2nd, (dom. lett. E), is here marked by the *main beam of a cross flattened at the top*, but without the cross beam. On some calendars the day occurs marked by a *group of human figures*.

6. The emblem for *St Martin's Day*, Nov. 11th, (dom. lett.

G), the tenth day after All Souls', according to the law formula, is here an unusual one, and seems to signify *a star*. The common emblems are *a goose* or *a pig*, commemorative of the feasting in which Norwegian households would indulge on that day. A more appropriate emblem is met with on other Norwegian staves in the shape of *a Bishop's mitre*. The Norwegian name of the day was *Marten* or *Martens-messa*. Once upon a time this day appears to have been a day of great feasting, in the towns especially, because the country people indignantly used to observe, that the gamins of the cheaping-stead would make of it as great a festivity as of Yule itself.

7. *St Clement's Day*, Nov. 23rd, (dom. lett. E, twelve nights to Clement mass, Archbishop John's Church law), has here the same emblem as St Simon and St Jude. See No. 3. In Norway the Saint went by the title of *Clement the Church builder*, and therefore his emblem is frequently *a church*, besides the common *anchor*, with respect to which I content myself to refer to what I have said in my paper on the Lapland Calendar, pp. 98—99. From this day children were kept on short commons in order to appreciate Christmas fare all the better.

8. *St Catharine's Day*, Nov. 25th, (dom. lett. G), is not mentioned in Archbishop John's law. It is here marked with a *simple cross*, as is frequently the case on Norwegian clogs. It is also signalised by the common *wheel-emblem*, which by Norwegian rurals was interpreted as an emblem of the spinning season, and of indoor occupations. Hence the popular saying: "*St Karin spins wicks for Christmas*," (*St Karin spinder Lysevæger til Juul*). The weather prognostic of the day said: "*Clear weather at 'Karimesse' makes pretty lights at Yule.*" (*Klart Veir paa Karimesse gjör vakkre Julelys*). The Norwegian name of the day was *Karensmessa* or *Karimesse*.

9. *St Andrew's Day*, Nov. 30th, (dom. lett. E, seven days after St Clement's Day, Archbishop John's law) is here signalised

by an emblem, which it is difficult to interpret. From a main-beam, flattened at the top, there spring on either side three branches; and the resemblance of this sign to that for Christmas Day is so close, that the only difference is, that in the Christmas Day emblem the second couple of branches terminate in a slight flattening. The general emblem is the well known *St Andrew's Cross.* On Norwegian clogs the day is also marked by a *fishing hook*, because on that day it was the proper thing to begin catching the Christmas fish. The Norwegian name of the day was *Andresmessa.*

10. *St Barbara*, Dec. 4th, (dom. lett. B), is an unknown Saint's day in Archbishop John's Church law. The emblems generally met with for the day are a *tower*, in commemoration of the tower, wherein Barbara's father, Dioscurus, a noble citizen of Nicomedia, kept her, or *a link*, suggestive of the chain, into which he threw her, when he learnt that, in consequence of her correspondence with *Origines*, she renounced the heathen gods, and embraced Christianity, c. 290. The emblem on our Calendar seems not quite capable of being interpreted in either sense. It seems to resemble a pointed edged instrument, and may signify a fleam or a lancet. The feast was called by the Norwegians *Barbro-Dögri, Barbara's (half) day.* Of this day the people used to say: *Barbro-day the sun goes away, Luci night returns he again (Barbro-Dögrin gaar Solen bort, Luci-Náttin kommer den att.).*

11. *St Nicolas' Day*, Dec. 6th, (dom. lett. D, six nights after St Andrew's, Archbishop John's law), is marked here with *a cross*, identical in form to St Clement's cross, but slightly less in size. The emblem of this Saint is, generally, *a bishop's staff*, or *three round balls*, in commemoration of his having in youth saved three poverty-stricken young maidens from sinfully earning their livelihood by throwing three lumps of gold into their father's house. On some calendars his emblem appears to be *a candelabrum*, with three branches lighted, possibly in

commemoration of the incident just mentioned, and suggestive of three souls having been saved. The Norwegian name of the day was *Nikulsmessa*. Up to a comparatively modern date the day is said to have been kept with great festivities in Norway, the Saint being worshipped as a patron Saint of the country.

12. The *Conception of the Virgin*, Dec. 8th, (dom. lett. F), is not found in Archbishop John's catalogue of 1280. It is noteworthy, that the emblem of this day, as well as that of the Visitation of the Virgin, 2 July, is a *simple cross*, while all the other days dedicated to the Virgin have the usual emblem, indicative of *a triple crown*. This fact, I think, undoubtedly points to the two days having had a similar history in the Norwegian Church. The feast of the Conception, although probably of a very considerable antiquity in the Church, had certainly fallen into desuetude in the Western Church in the 15th century; for the Council of Basle in 1439 ordained, that it should be renovated, and observed in all churches: *Nos festum conceptionis Mariae renovamus et in omnibus ecclesiis observari volumus.* It may be taken for granted that, in the North especially, the observance of the day, even if it was known as a church festivity which it certainly was in the 13th century, was of an unofficial, loose kind, or it would have found its way into such an important document as the oft-mentioned Saints' days catalogue of Archbishop John. The identity of the emblem of this day, to that of the Visitation day, the observance of which was enforced also by a Council of Basle in 1431, seems silently to point out that both days were held of equal antiquity and honour in the church. The general emblem of the day, on Norwegian clogs, is *a can*, or *tankard*, suggestive of beer-brewing operations against Christmas having already commenced. The Norwegians called the day *Vor Frues Ventedör*, or the day of our Lady's expectation, she expecting by mistake to give birth to the Saviour on that day, according to some legends of her life.

13. *St Anne's Day*, Dec. 9th, (dom. lett. G), is unknown

in Archbishop John's law. It has for an emblem, *two side-branches springing from a main stem*, which probably means a crown two degrees lower in dignity than that of the Blessed Virgin herself. This feast was celebrated in Norway on the 26th of July up to 1436, when it was transferred to the 9th of December.

14. *St Lucy's Day*, December 13th, (dom. lett. D), not mentioned in Archbishop John's law. The emblem here signifies evidently the *cloven foot of an ox;* otherwise the day is signalised on clogs by *a torch* or *a flame*. The night following this day was popularly held to be the longest in the year—so long indeed, that, during it, animals got the faculty of speech, in order to give expression to the bitter realisation of hunger which its length enforced on them.

15. *St Thomas' Day*, Dec. 21st, (dom. lett. E), (fifteen days after St Nicolas' Day, Archbishop John's law). The emblem here, as frequently, is a simple *cross*. The typical emblem of the day is, otherwise, *a tankard* or *a barrel*, suggestive of beer provisions being laid in against Christmas. Hence the Saint figured in popular parlance irreverently as *Thomas the brewer, Thom o' the pot*. The day was of old a great tasting-day, as neighbours used to pay each other visits, for the purpose of mutually tasting each other's beer. This tour was called *Imber-Runn* or *Ember-run, Ember round*, because the fourth Ember days fell on the Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday, after Dec. 13, and St Thomas' Day, therefore, often came within the Ember week. In connection with this *Imber-Runn*, it is interesting to notice, that the words *Imber-* (*dagar, vika*) in Norway, and *Ymbru-* (*dagar, vika*) in Iceland, are terms borrowed directly from the Anglo-Saxon Calendar, *ymbren-* (*dagas, wuce*). The derivation of the word *ymbren* has by some been traced to *embers*, in the sense of *ashes*, as being symbolic of the fast enjoined for these days, by others to A.-S. *ymb-ryn* (*a running round*) *a revolution, circuit, circle, anniversary*. But neither

derivation is admissible. The term Ymbren represents merely one form of the various corruptions through which the Latin title of these fast-days *jejunium quatuor temporum* has passed among the Germanic nations. With the Germans the corruption took the form, which it maintains to this day, *Quatember;* among the Danes it became *Tamper, Tamperdage,* and among the Anglo-Saxons *Ymber-, Ymbir-, Ymbur-, Ymbren-dagas,* which again passed into *Embring days,* and *Ember days* in modern English.

16. *Christmas Day,* Dec. 25th, (dom. lett. B), (four days after St Thomas' Day, Archbishop John's law), is here signified by an emblem which, in all probability, is meant for a *seven-branched candelabrum,* a common sign for the day on Norwegian clog calendars. From this day to Twelfth Night it was customary to draw the so-called *Yule marks* on a beam in the house, as reminders of the days passed, and the days still remaining of the festivity, which custom almost seems to suggest that the Christmas beer and mead interfered somewhat disturbingly with the memory of the household, and its due attention to passing time.

17. *Innocents' Day,* Dec. 28th, (dom. lett. E), is marked by a simple *cross.*

18. *The Feast of the Circumcision,* Jan. 1st, is the first day in our calendar where the relation between the day of the month and the dominical letters becomes disturbed. The first of Jan. here having nothing to do with the commencement of the year, the dominical letters go on, in the regular sequence from Dec. 31, A, to Jan. 1st, which takes the letter B for Sunday letter instead of the letter A. This disarrangement obtains throughout the calendar to the end of the year, Oct. 13th. The feast is unknown in Archbishop John's catalogue of Saints' days. The emblem for the day seems to indicate a *five-branched candelabrum.* Otherwise it has for emblem an *hour-glass, a triple cross,* or a *miniature representation of the*

sun. A red cloud seen in the sky on this day foreboded a coming war.

19. *Epiphany Day*, Jan. 6th, thirteenth day of Yule, Archbishop John's law, (dom. lett. G instead of F), is marked with an emblem which possibly signifies *three crowns*, in commemoration of the three wise men coming from the east, to do homage to the new-born Saviour. Otherwise the commonest emblem is, *three crowned human figures;* sometimes *a tankard*, signifying the last day of the Yule-drinking. The feast was called in Norway *Helligtrekongers Dag*, i. e. *Holy three Kings' Day.*

20. *St Canute's Day*, Jan. 7th, (dom. lett. A, i. o. G). Not mentioned in Archbishop John's law. This is the feast of the Danish Duke *Knút* of Sleswick, the son of King *Eric Ayegood.* He was betrayed and murdered, A.D. 1131, by his cousin *Magnús*, son of Nicolas, King Eric's brother, and successor to the kingdom of Denmark. Knút's son, *Valdemar the 1st*, King of Denmark, procured his father's canonisation in 1170. Duke Knút's commemoration was afterwards confined to the Churches of Denmark and Norway principally. Before 1170 this day was called in Norway *affarar dagr*, *Affare Dagen*, meaning that it was the day, on which the Yule guests took their departure. I have already alluded to the popular customs which were observed on this day in the North in my paper on the Lapland Calendar, p. 90. When the day became commemorative of St Canute, the popular saying attached to it: *St Knut kjörer Julen ut, (St Knút driveth Christmas out).* The emblem here is, *the main beam of a cross flattened at the top.* The general emblem is *a bell*, reminding of the Christmas season being rung out.

21. *St Julian of Antioch*, Jan. 9th, (dom. lett. C, i. o. B), suffered martyrdom together with his virgin wife *Basilissa* under the Emperor Diocletian. The emblem of the day is the same as that of the preceding. The day is unknown in Archbishop John's law.

22. *St Brettiva*, Jan. 11th, (dom. lett. E, i. o. D), is a saint who was chiefly worshipped in Norway and Iceland. This local Saint's day is unknown in Archbishop John's law; but in the older *Gulaþings lög*, from the eleventh century, it is already entered in the Catalogue of Saints' days, which are to be kept as holy days without the so-called *nón helgi*, that is, without the previous day being kept holy as a Sunday from *nón*, or from three o'clock in the afternoon. It is not known who this saint was; it is supposed that she was of Irish origin. In the Gulathings law her name is spelt *Brittifa*, but *Brictiva* is another and common spelling of it as well. The name is still found in Iceland in the form of *Broteva*, which is popularly understood to mean the guilty Eve, *brot* meaning the breaking of a commandment, *trespass*. The emblem of the day is a *simple cross;* but on Norwegian calendars a *horse* is frequently introduced as an emblem of the day, and is said to owe its origin to a Norway farmer having driven out on that day for the purpose of fetching home a waggon load of hay; but, being met by a brother farmer, was asked if he knew that it was *Brette-messe*, as the name of the day was popularly pronounced, *brette* otherwise signifying violently to turn, double up, crease, whereupon he answered, "*Turn me this way, turn me that, but I shall turn me home a load of hay.*" But the horse stumbled and broke its leg. The mishap was enough to create a warning emblem against the repetition of the trespass by other folk. *Brykke messa* and *Brokkis messe* are also popular corruptions of the name of the day, still lingering among the people, and are said to derive their origin from the remnants of the Yule-fare being stewed in a pot, in Norwegian called *at brokke, brokke sammen*, for a final consumption by the household.

23. The 13th of Jan., (dom. lett. G, i. o. F), is in Norwegian Calendars dedicated to Bishop *Remigius of Rheims*, about 490, as well as the 1st of October. The day is unknown in Archbishop John's law. But it was also dedicated to St Hilary

throughout the Northern churches. If the signification of the emblem of the day could be made out, it might perhaps decide, to which of the two saints the day in this calendar belongs. But I cannot suggest what the sign may import.

24. *St Fabian's and St Sebastian's Day*, Jan. 20th, (dom. lett. G, i. o. F), was called in Norway and Iceland *Brœðra messa*, as if the two saints were brothers; that, however, was not the case. Fabian was a bishop of Rome, and suffered martyrdom A.D. 250 under the Emperor Decius. But Sebastian was a brave commander in the Roman army in the days of *Diocletian;* he had embraced Christianity, but had to expiate the crime A.D. 302 by being flogged to death, after having been shot at in vain by arrows. The general emblem for the day is *an axe*, which betokened the necessity of cutting down timber for household purposes on this day, as it was believed that the sap began to ascend the tree from that date onwards. Possibly the sign here may mean a lopping knife; but it may also mean a rod for flagellation. Unknown in Archbishop John's law.

25. *The Conversion of St Paul*, (nineteen nights after Twelfth Night, Archbishop John's law), Jan. 25, (dom. lett. E, i. o. D), has here for an emblem *a cross*, the main beam of which is flattened at the top. As to the other emblems which are found of this day, I refer to my paper on the Lapland Calendar, p. 92. The Saint acquires in Norway the name of *Paal Skyttar, Paal med Bogen, Paul with the bow.*

26. *Purification of the Virgin*, (eight nights after 'Paul's mass,' Archbishop John's law), popularly called *Kyndilmessa*, not a phonetic imitation of the Latin *missa candelarum*, or *candelaria*, but a translation of it, *kyndill* from *kynda*, to kindle, Feb. 2nd, (dom. lett. F, i. o. E), is signalised by an emblem, which may appropriately mean the Virgin's triple crown, or else a seven-branched candelabrum. The former, however, is in all probability the real signification of the emblem, because the form coincides identically with the rest of the Virgin's days,

when we except the days of her Conception and Visitation, to which I have referred already under No. 12, Dec. 8th. This feast was one to which a variety of ecclesiastical customs were attached in the North, as in the South and the East. Churches were illuminated on this day, wax candles, for church and domestic use, were consecrated with great ceremony, *Benedictio Candelarum.* Originally the churching of mothers, for which the priest received a wax candle, arose out of the tradition, and the ceremonies of Candlemas. The candles which had been consecrated did service for the purpose of scaring evil spirits away from the infant's cradle, from the sick-bed, and from the dead lying on their bier.

27. *St Blase,* unknown in Archbishop John's law, Feb. 3rd, (dom. lett. G, i. o. F), has the same emblem as All Souls, St Canute, and St Julian. St Blase, Bishop of Sebaste in Cappadocia, suffered martyrdom under Diocletian c. 302. The Norwegians called his day *Blasiusmessa,* but more frequently, in popular parlance, *Blaasmessa.* This corruption, representing phonetically the root of the verb *at blaasa,* which means *to blow, to puff,* gave rise to the superstition that this saint was a kind of Æolus, ruler and director of the winds; wherefore the belief was, that if the day was blustering, the saint threatened a windy, stormy year. In such awe was he held by sea-farers especially, that they would not name his name during his day. The emblem of the day is therefore most frequently on the clogs a human head in puffing attitude, or else a sailing ship.

28. *St Agatha's Day,* unknown in Archbishop John's catalogue, Feb. 5th, (dom. lett. B, i. o. A), has got an emblem in this calendar, the meaning of which I am unable to make out. This virgin saint, whose citizenship was for centuries a bone of contention between the towns Catania and Palermo in Sicily, suffered martyrdom, according to her biographer, *Simon Metaphrastes,* under Decius, in the year 251. In Norway the legend got current, that she had been *brushed to death,* wherefore girls

would abstain from brushing their hair on that day. Another legend was also common, referring to some lady *Agathe* or *Aagot*, whose nose and ears had been eaten off by mice, and whose escape from utter death was due to a prayer to God for deliverance, and a promise to keep the day holy ever afterwards. Hence the day is frequently marked on the clogs by a mouse, and bears the name of *Musedagen*, the *Miceday*. Both legends form apparently a somewhat insipid corruption of the story of the saint's tortures; rolling her in potsherds and gleeds, f. e., takes the form of brushing. Nose and ears being eaten off by mice seems to refer to her breasts having been cut off. However, she is frequently represented, out of the North, as set upon by the devil, in the guise of mice, for the purpose of frightening her into sin. *Aagots messa* was the current Norwegian name of this day.

29. *St Dorothy*, unknown in Archbishop John's catalogue, Feb. 6th, (dom. lett. C, i. o. B), is here marked by the same simple emblem as St Blase. Otherwise her emblem is generally *a cross*. The saint suffered martyrdom at *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia* about A.D. 308.

30. *St Scholastica's Day*, unknown in Archbishop John's catalogue, Feb. 10th, (dom. lett. G, i. o. F), is marked with a simple cross. St Scholastica was the sister of St Benedict of Nursia, and established a convent for nuns in Monte Cassino.

31. Against the 19th of Feb. is a cross, flattened above, and therefore seemingly indicating the day as belonging to a saint of consideration. The name given in Norwegian Calendars to the saint of the day is St Ammon; but to such a saint I find the 19th of Feb. dedicated nowhere, but in Norway. The name being foreign cannot be that of a local or national saint. It corresponds well enough with that of Ammon or Ammun, the hermit of Mount Nitria in Egypt, ob. cc. A.D. 354, the only saint of that name I find mentioned. His day however is October 4th. But that need not stand in the way of our

Norwegian saint being identical with the Mount Nitria hermit, for extraneous saints were taken up by vows, and by a variety of other accidents, and a day was given to them, sometimes at a haphazard, when their proper day was either not known or already occupied by another known and popular Saint. And the 4th of October was already from the 13th century occupied throughout the North by the great confessor of Assisi.

32. *St Peter's Chair*, unknown in Archbishop John's catalogue, Feb. 22nd, (Dom. Lett. E, i. o. D), has a sign in the form of a cross, possibly in commemoration of the mode of the Apostle's martyrdom. Generally the emblem is *a key*. The popular belief in Norway is, that on this day the saint throws warming stones into sea and waters, so as to cause the ice to thaw. In Iceland a similar belief is current, only there the stone is thrown into the bowels of the earth, which causes her to begin warming up and undoing from within the icy bonds of winter. As the weather is on this day, so, it is believed in Norway, will it remain for forty successive days.

33. *St Matthias' Day*, (twenty-two nights after 'Paul's mass,' Archbishop John's catalogue), Feb. 24th, (dom. lett. G, i. o. F), here marked by a *simple cross*. Besides the emblems for the day mentioned in my paper on the Lapland Calendar, it is sometimes signalised by *a couple of flags*, on Norwegian calendars. The current name of the day is *Laupaars messe* or *Leap-year mass*, because formerly the leap-year day was intercalated after the 24th of February, in which case St Matthias' day fell on Feb. 25th.

34. *St Gregory's Day*, (sixteen nights after Matthias' Day, Archbishop John's catalogue), March 12th, (dom. lett. B, i. o. A), has for emblem *a cross*, similar to those which mark the Conv. of St Paul, St Nicolas', St Clement's and St Simon and St Jude's Days. A common sign for it on Norwegian clogs is *a crow*, of which the legend says, it was once upon a time heard singing: *Gregory's mass you may await me; Mary's mass* (i. e.

25th of March), *I am sure to come; if I come not before first Summer's day, I shall then come, even if need be, on a staff* (crutch). Cpr. the popular saying about *Vet-nœt*, p. 144. If there is a south wind on that day and the eaves of the houses are dripping, a good year may be expected. For further popular observances attached to the day, see my paper on the Lapland Calendar, p. 93.

35. *St Gertrude's Day*, not known in Archbishop John's catalogue, March 17th, (dom. lett. G, i. o. F), is here marked by a *simple cross*. It is possible that the day here is rather meant for *St Patrick*, who was a much more famous saint in the North than *Gertrude of Brabant* (A.D. 664). The common emblem of the day on Norwegian clogs is *a pike-staff*, because St Peter, said the popular legend, then came with his pike-staff to try, how thick and firm the ice was. The function is evidently attributed to the wrong saint, and belongs, rightly no doubt, to *Peter the Martyr*, to whom the day after St Gertrude's day is dedicated.

36. *The day of the Annunciation of the Virgin*, (thirteen nights after Gregory's Day, Archbishop John's catalogue), March 25th, (dom. lett. A, i. o. G), is marked here with a *triple crown*. On later clogs it is marked by a *madonna figure*. This day was carefully observed by rural weather-prophets of old. Thus it was commonly believed that rivulets, which ran before this day from thaw, would stand as many days after it still with frost; as the weather was during the night, so it would remain for three weeks after; and if the night was clear it would ensure a good peas harvest. "*By this day*" the saying was, "*begins sledge-travelling to leave off.*"

37. *St Celestine's Day*, not known in Archbishop John's catalogue, April 6th, (dom. lett. F, i. o. E), is marked with a *simple cross*. Pope Celestinus died in 433.

38. We now come to the second half year of the annual cycle, the Summer, which begins with *Tiburtius' Day*, not en-

tered in Archbishop John's catalogue, April 14th, (dom. lett. G, i. o. F). The sign here is evidently the common one of *a sprouting tree*. *Tiburtius*, or rather *Tibertius*, *Valerianus* and *Maximus* suffered martyrdom together under the Emperor Commodus, A.D. 174. This *Tiburtius* is sometimes in Northern Calendars mistaken for another martyr of the same name, to whom the 11th of August is dedicated, and who suffered under *Diocletian* and *Maximin*, A.D. 230. For the popular observances I refer to my Lapland Calendar, p. 81. The popular name of the day is *förste Sommerdag*, or *Sumarsnætt*.

39. *St Magnus' Day*, (two and twenty nights after Mary's mass, Archbishop John's catalogue), April 16th, (dom. lett. B, i. o. A), is dedicated to *Magnus*, Earl of Orkney, who died in 1115. Its emblem here is a *simple cross*, otherwise it is generally marked by *a pick-axe*, suggestive of commencing field labour.

40. *St Mark's Day*, (nine nights after 'Magnus' mass,' Archbishop John's catalogue), April 25th, (dom. lett. D, i. o. C), has here a compound sign of *a cross, and three branches on the top of it*. No doubt the sign conveys some allusion to the religious rites which were observed on this day, it being the great Rogation day, called *Gangdagr*, *Ganging day*, *Procession day;* and sometimes qualified as *gangdagrinn eini*, or *mikli*, the one or the great Rogation day, to distinguish it from the Rogation days, which fell in Rogation week, or the second week before *Whit-Sunday*. On some Norwegian calendars the day is marked by a rod surrounded by a cloud of small points, which the legend says commemorates a fall of snow so deep that it exceeded in thickness the length of a surveyor's rod, for the thawing of which a general and severe fast was observed in the country.

So far our calendar has assigned correctly every feast and saint's day to its proper day of the month. But from the next feast day,

41. *the day of the Apostles St Philip and St James*, seven

nights after St Mark's Day, Archbishop John's catalogue, April 30th, instead of May 1st, down to the Divisio Apostolorum, July 15th, all the Saints' days, with the exception of two, fall one day too early, consequently, on the right Sunday letter, as the Sunday letters are arranged in this calendar, but on the wrong day of the month. The cross, therefore, that is marked here against the 30th of April should be against the 1st of May, according to the provision of Archbishop John's catalogue: from Rogation day are vi nights to the mass of the Apostles S. Philip and S. James. This day was generally called *tveggja postula messa, (mass of the two apostles)*, and *Gauks messa, Gawks mass, (Cuckoo mass)*, because then the cuckoo was expected to make its appearance. Hence the general emblem for the day is a *cuckoo*. If the girls heard the cuckoo sing before they had broken their fast, it was an evil omen. If the cuckoo was heard this day in the north, it was a *nágaukr, Naagauk, death-cuckoo*, and boded the hearer death; if in the south, it was a *sáðgaukr, Saagauk, seed-cuckoo*, and foretold good luck to harvest; if in the west, it was a *vilgaukr, Viljagauk, will-cuckoo*, signifying that the hearer's will and wishes would be fulfilled; if in the east, it was an *ástgaukr, guile-cuckoo*, hinting that the hearer's love would be responded to. If the cuckoo continued to sing after it had seen the first hay-rick, it foretold coming famine, or hard times, at least. If corn and herbs were sown on cuckoo day, they would thrive and speed well till harvest. But to break the sod on that day was a thing to be heeded against, because whatever was sown in earth so broken was doomed to consumption by worms.

42. *Invention of the holy Cross* (two nights after St Philip and St James, Archbishop John's catalogue), May 3rd, (dom. lett. E, i. o. D), falls here on the right day of the month, and at the right distance, prescribed by law, from the preceding festival. The sign is here a *cross combined with two branches springing out from the top of it;* what those branches mean I

have not been able to discover. By this date all fences and railings should be in full repair. At this date also the sheep should be fleeced; this was the last day in the summer-season on which the live stock should be fed in the house; on the morrow it was turned out to shift for itself during the summer.

43. *St Hallward's day* should fall, according to Archbishop John's catalogue, on the 12th day 'after cross-mass,' which is the 15th of May. Here, however, it falls on the 14th, a date, which indeed is given to the saint in foreign Breviaries, and by the editors of the *Acta Sanctorum*. But the right date is the 15th, for on that day the saint's memory has been commemorated from the beginning in his own mother-church. St Hallward is a local saint of Norway. He was a near kinsman of St Olaf, the national saint, and was slain while attempting to rescue from her persecutors a woman falsely accused of a dreadful crime. Having killed him with their spears, his enemies tied a millstone to his neck, and cast him into the sea in the firth of *Drammen*. Hence the emblem, which is an unmistakable representation of a millstone, and is the common one by which the day is marked on Norwegian clogs. Sometimes the day is marked by points representing grain, because the day was considered to be a propitious day for sowing corn. But on the mountain "the reindeer calf should still go hoof-deep in snow," and the relapse in the weather from warmth into cold, which would sometimes take place about this day, was called the *reindeer chill*. He who did not take care to sow his corn about this date, might count on what was called *árþrot, Aarthrot*, i. e. *unripe harvest*.

44. *St Erasmus' Day*, not known in Archbishop John's catalogue, June 3rd, (dom. lett. A, i. o. G), falls on the right day of the month here. The emblem is a *simple cross*. St Erasmus, bishop and martyr, fell under the Diocletian persecution after having led a hermit's life in Lebanon for some

seven years. His tortures were, according to his biographers, of the most horrible character. He finally succumbed amidst unutterable agonies, A.D. 301.

45. *St Columbas' Day*, not known in Archbishop John's catalogue, June 9th, (dom. lett. G, i. o. F), falls here on the right day of the month. The name of the Apostle of Scotland was changed in Norway into the common vernacular name *Kolbjörn* and, because the salmon began to revisit the rivers about this day, the name *Kolbjörn med Laxen, (Kolbjörn with the salmon)*, was given to the saint. Hence a salmon is a common emblem for the day; and it is possible that the emblem here is meant to suggest a salmon trap, which often was set out in the form of a square chest.

46. *St Botolph's Day*, thirty-three nights after St Halward's, Archbishop John's catalogue, falls here wrongly on the 16th, instead of the 17th of June. It is not obvious what special meaning in connection with the day the emblem is meant to convey. Generally Norwegian clogs signalise the day by *a cross with a straw growing up from it.* In agricultural districts it was held to be a good rule on this day to plough fields which were to lie fallow for the year, because the roots were loose, and the sward therefore easily workable. Possibly the emblem is a reminder of this agricultural custom, and represents roots torn up from the soil. The day was commonly called by the rural population *Botssok*, a corruption of *Bótólfs vaka*, i. e. *Botolph's wake.* Possibly the emblem refers to torches or fires lighted during the night.

47. *The Nativity of St John*, (seven nights after St Botolph's, Archbishop John's catalogue), falls here on the 23rd instead of the 24th of June. This was midsummer's night with the Norwegians, as with most other nations in western and northern Europe. The emblem for it was generally *a sun on the top of a pole.* The emblem in our calendar may mean either *a leafy tree*, or, with reference to the fires which used

to be lit during the night, a *blazing beacon.* The Norwegian name for the day was *Jonsmesse dag* or *Jonssok,* a corruption of *Jonsvaka, John's wake.* If it rained on this day, it was taken as an omen of bad harvest in hazelnuts, and of a wet-some autumn. On this day tar should be boiled, and with it should be made a sign of the cross on the live stock, in order to protect it from wild beasts, and the mischief of ill-disposed mountain sprites.

48. *The Feast of St Peter and St Paul,* five nights after St John's, Archbishop John's catalogue, falls here on the 28th instead of the 29th of June. The emblem is the common one, *a key.* On this day, said the popular legend, did the Saviour deliver a golden key to the gate of heaven into the Apostle's hand; hence the day was called *Peter with the golden key.* The Norwegian common name for the day was, however, *Petersmesse or Petersvaka, Peter's wake.*

49. *The Visitation of the Virgin Mary* falls here on the 1st instead of the 2nd of July. The emblem is, as against the Conception of the Virgin, a simple cross. For further information concerning the day, I refer to my Lapland Calendar, pp. 95, 102. I should, however, mention, that this day, which commemorates the Enshrinement of St Swithun, was as *Svituns messa,* observed at a very early date in Norway, for in the older Gulaþings lög the observance of the feast is already provided for. And from the beginning this was the principal day of the saint in the Norwegian church. But if the framer of the calendar meant the day for *Svituns messa* he would probably have distinguished it by its proper emblem, which was *a fagot of birch and a fagot of alder laid across each other.* This emblem, I may add, sprang out of a corruption of the name of *St Swithun,* which from *Svituns messa, Svitunsvaka* became *Sviftuns messa, Sviftuns vaka, Syftunsvaka,* and at last *Syftesok. Syfte* fell, in form, together with the verb *at syfte,* which meant *to sweep,* and hence the emblem was considered to commemo-

rate an agricultural custom, by which a kind of *besom* used to be set up in the fields, on the night of *St Swithun's* day accompanied by the formula: "*Now will I sweep the weeds from the field, and set in its stead alder and birch, that it may grow both fine and fresh.*"

50. *St Sunniva's Day* (six nights after the preceding festival, Archbishop John's catalogue) is here marked for the 7th, instead of the 8th of July. There can be no mistake about this, because the sign here is the common one for Sunniva's day, *a three-pronged fork*, the meaning of which, however, is not known. According to the legend, *Sunniva* was the daughter of an Irish king. In order to escape from marrying a heathen king in Ireland, she fled away, in company with a number of men and women, and was driven by storm upon the western coast of Norway, where she, with her company, sought shelter in some caves in the island of *Selja*, now *Sellö*. But the neighbouring inhabitants of the country put them all to death, by walling them up in the caves in which they had sought refuge. In the year 995 their remains were discovered, and a church was built on the spot in commemoration of their martyrdom. The current Norwegian name for this feast was *Seljumanna messa* or *the mass of the men of Selja*.

51. *The day of the Division of the Apostles*, unknown in Archbishop John's catalogue, falls here on the 14th instead of the 15th of July. The emblem is evidently suggestive of the event commemorated on the day. What the simple stave may signify which is attached to the day preceding this I cannot say.

52. *St Margaret's Day* (twelve nights after St Sunniva, Archbishop John's catalogue) falls again on the right day of the month, the 20th of July, (dom. lett. F, i. o. E). The emblem is a small cross. In rural parlance the saint is called *Margit*, and she is believed to bring with her a down-pour of rain, whence the name *Margit water-ladle*, the common emblem

of the day being also *a ladle*. On this day should the farmer touch neither field nor meadow; if he did so, it would result in nothing good for him.

53. *St Mary Magdalene*, (two nights after the preceding, Archbishop John's catalogue), July 22nd, (dom. lett. A, i. o. G), has also for emblem a simple *cross*. Otherwise her emblem is *a chair*, commemorating the legend which said, that the Virgin loved her so much, that she vacated her own chair for her, on her assumption in heaven. On this day might no grass or hay be touched.

54. *St James' Day*, July 25th, (three nights after St Mary Magdalene, Archbishop John's catalogue), (dom. lett. D, i. o. C), has here a sign which it is difficult to make out. It should be a hat, from which water is dripping, for the saying is that on his day *he cometh and wetteth the hops*, hence his day is called *Jacob or James wethat*, the other names for it being *Jakobsmessa*, and *Jakobsok*, i.e. *James' wake*.

55. *St Olaf's Day*, (three nights after St James, Archbishop John's catalogue), (dom. lett. A, i. o. C), has for emblem the usual sign, a *battle-axe*, commonly called *Olaf's axe*. This is the greater, or first *Olaf's mass*, *Olafmessa förre*, *O. store*, in commemoration of the martyrdom of St Olaf, which took place really, not as is by oversight stated in my paper on the Lapland Calendar, p. 97, on the 31st of July, but on the 31st of August; and is thus called in contradistinction to the Translation of St Olaf, August 3rd (dom. lett. F, i. o. E) which was called *Olafsmessa síðari* or *vesle O.*, the *later*, the *lesser Olaf's mass*. Both days are more popularly called *Olafsok*, i.e. *Olaf's wake*.

56. *St Peter ad vincula*, not known in Archbishop John's catalogue, August 1st, (dom. lett. D, i. o. C), is marked with a sign, which I think must be meant for a *key*. The Latin name of the day was corrupted into the senseless *Pœvinkel*. This day, it is not uninteresting to notice, retains still to this

day its *Anglo-Saxon* name in the English Prayer-book, almost unchanged, in the form of *Lammas day*, A. S. *láfmæsse*, i.e. *loaf mass* day, from the very early custom observed on that day, to bring a loaf of bread to the church, as a first offering of the fruit of the year.

57. *St Olaf*, (five nights after Olaf's first day, Archbishop John's Catalogue), August 3rd, see No. 54.

58. *St Lawrence' day*, (seven nights after the Translation of St Olaf, Archbishop John's catalogue), August 10th, (dom. lett. F, i. o. E), has got the common emblem, *the gridiron* on which the saint was roasted to death.

59. *The day of the Assumption of the Virgin*, (five nights after St Lawrence, Archbishop John's catalogue), August 15th, (dom. lett. D, i. o. C), was considered the greatest of all the feast days of the Virgin, and was therefore called *vor Frue Dag dyre*, (*our Lady day dear*). It was also called by the apparently odd title *Mariumessa fyrri*, the prior Mary's mass, which is to be explained in this way. In the Winter half year there was only one day, devoted to the Virgin, called *Mariumessa*, namely the Annunciation day, March 25th; the Conception day being of late introduction, and the Purification day always bearing the name of *Candlemass*. But the Annunciation day did not get the name of the *first* Mary's mass, because anciently, as is explained in my paper on the Lapland Calendar, the two half years, were really two separate years, distinct from each other in the minds of the people. (See Runic Calendar found in Lapland, pp. 76—79.) Hence, there being only two days devoted to the Virgin from of old, in the Summer half year (the Visitation day being of a very late date), this day naturally got the name of *prior Mary's mass*, the Nativity, that of the *Second or later Mary's mass*.

60. *St Bartholomew*, (nine nights after the Assumption day, Archbishop John's catalogue), Aug. 24th, (dom. lett. F, i. o. E), has here the common sign, *a knife*. From the

emblem there arose by mistake a popular superstition, that the knife really meant slaughter of live-stock for winter consumption.

61. *St Giles' Day*, not known in Archbishop John's catalogue, Sept. 1st, (dom. lett. A, i. o. F), is here provided with a sign which it is difficult to reconcile with the common emblem for the day, *a couple of mill-stones*. The day was called *Kverne-knarren*, the *Quern-grinder*. If the day was dry, it was expected, the mill would have a scanty water supply throughout the autumn. The Norwegian name of the day was *Yljansmesse* and *Orjanssmesse*.

62. *The day of the Nativity of the Virgin*, (fifteen nights after St Bartholomew, Archbishop John's catalogue), Sept. 8th, (dom. lett. A, i. o. F), the common sign, a *triple crown*. Otherwise the sign is *a pair of sheep-shears*, as on this day the sheep were to be clipped. Good weather on this day betokened fine weather for three weeks more.

63. *The day of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross*, (six nights after the Nativity, Archbishop John's catalogue), Sept. 14th, (dom. lett. F, i. o. E), is marked, as usually, with a *double cross*. This day marked the commencement of autumn; by this time the harvest should be in.

64. *St Matthew's Day*, (seven nights after the Exaltation of the Cross, Archbishop John's catalogue), Sept. 21st, (dom. lett. F, i. o. E), is here marked by *a cross*; otherwise with *an axe*, because at this time should be laid in stores of leaves towards winter; *a horse* and *a boot* are also found as emblems of the day, suggestive of rainy season and slushy roads.

65. *St Firminus's Day*, not known in Archbishop John's catalogue, Sept. 25th, (dom. lett. C, i. o. B), has a sign of which I cannot make out the meaning. St Firm. was even as a young man a famous preacher and a man of great zeal; he is by some maintained to have been the first bishop of Amiens, and to have suffered martyrdom in that city some time between 250—305.

66. *St Michael's Day*, (eight nights after St Matthew's, Archbishop John's catalogue), Sept. 29th, (dom. lett. G, i. o. F), is marked by *a pair of scales*, the ordinary emblem for the day. It was popularly believed, that what length of time rime and frost obtained before Michaelmass, so long would rime and frost prevail before Cuckoomass. It is a mistaken notion on the part of Norwegian writers on calendric lore, to suppose that the scales of the Archangel have anything to do with market towns. The scales, on the contrary, are commemorative of the archangel's eternal function of weighing souls, a legend in which the mediæval artist, poet and priest all alike took the keenest interest, and of which there is an infinite variety of renderings in ecclesiastical art.

67. *St Francis*, Oct. 4th, (dom. lett. E, i. o. D), is marked by a *cross*, otherwise he is marked by *half a cross* only on some Norwegian clogs, while on Swedish staves he is signalized by *a fish*, *a cloister*, *a book*, or, as here, with *a cross*.

68. *St Bridget*, Oct. 7th, (dom. lett. A, i. o. G), has got here the same sign as St Anne, the Mother of the Virgin, Dec. 9th, which, no doubt, means a crown two degrees below the Virgin's. On some clogs her emblem is *a house*, suggestive of the Order, which commemorated her memory in Sweden, and was called after her the *Brigittines*. The day was popularly called the *cale-day*, because the cale should be cut on this day, to be saved from frost and winter. Sometimes the day has got two *heather-bushes* for emblems, because the saying went, that on this day the bear began to prepare his dormitation lair by gathering ling to it. A *book* and a *tankard* are also found attached as emblems to the day.

69. The last saint's day in our calendar, *St Dionysius* or *Denys* or *Dennis*, Oct. 9th, (dom. lett. C, i. o. B), is marked by a sign which probably means *an axe* in token of his martyrdom. He was bishop of Paris, and was put to death by the governor of the city, 286.

Out of the 69 Saints' days which the calendar contains, a good number is marked by an identical sign, which seems to indicate that the carver of the calendar ascribed equal degree of veneration to the saints, to whom he gave the same sign. Thus we find marked by a simple cross:

1	St Ursula	Oct. 21st.
2	St Catharine	Nov. 25th.
3	Conception of the Virgin	Dec. 8th.
4	St Thomas	„ 21st.
5	Innocents' day	„ 28th.
6	St Brettiva	Jan. 11th.
7	St Scholastica	Feb. 10th.
8	St Matthias	„ 24th.
9	St Gertrude	March 17th.
10	St Celestine	April 6th.
11	St Magnus	„ 16th.
12	St Philip and St James	May 1st.
13	St Erasmus	June 3rd.
14	Visitation of the Virgin	July 2nd.
15	St Margaret	„ 20th.
16	St Mary Magdalene	„ 22nd.
17	St Matthew	Sept. 21st.
18	St Francis	Oct. 4th.

By a cross with the main beam flattened at the top:

1	St Simon and St Jude	Oct. 28th.
2	St Clement	Nov. 23rd.
3	St Nicolas	Dec. 6th.
4	Conversion of St Paul	Jan. 25th.
5	St Ammon?	Feb. 19th.

By a main beam of a cross only, flattened at the top:

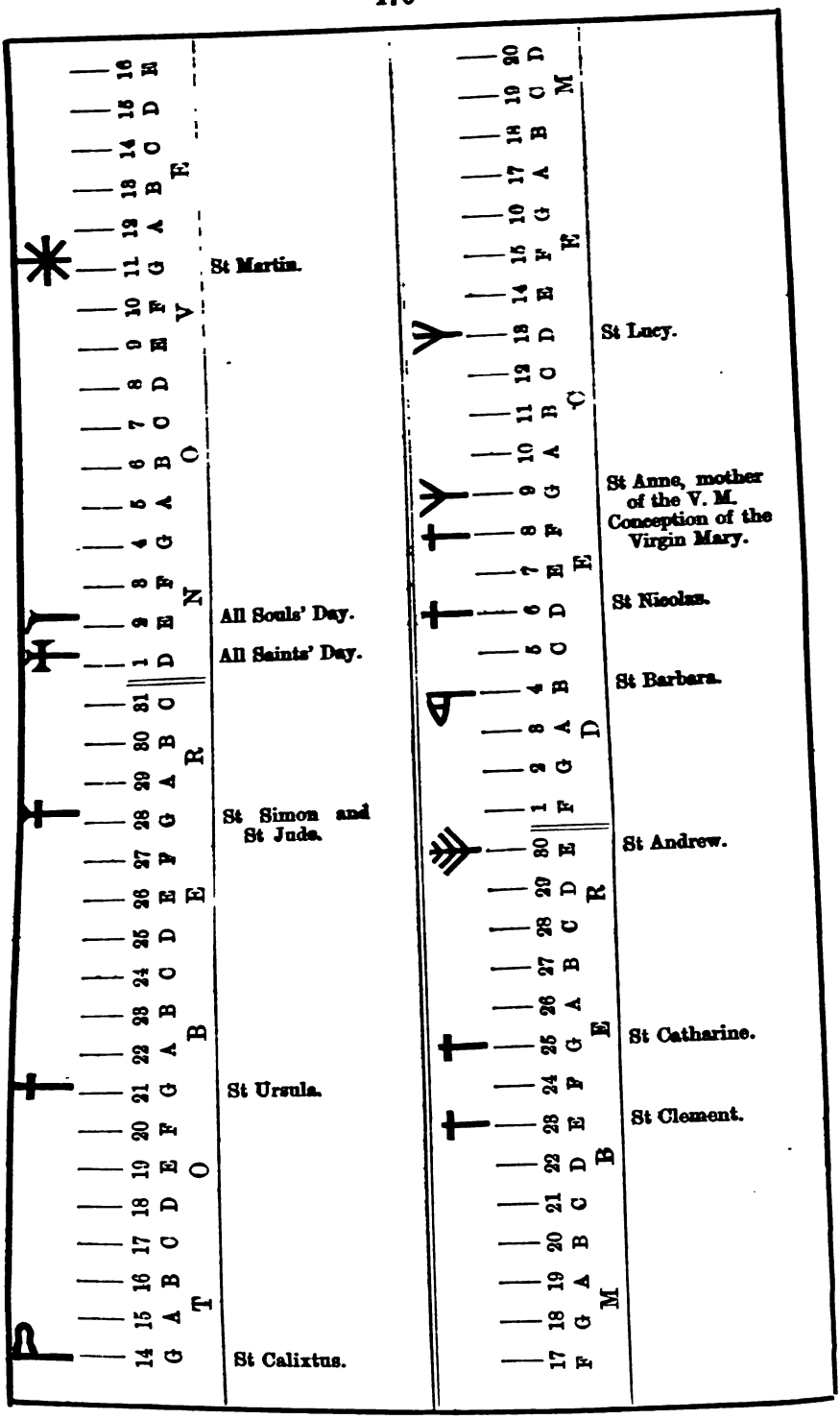
1	All Souls' day	Nov. 2nd.

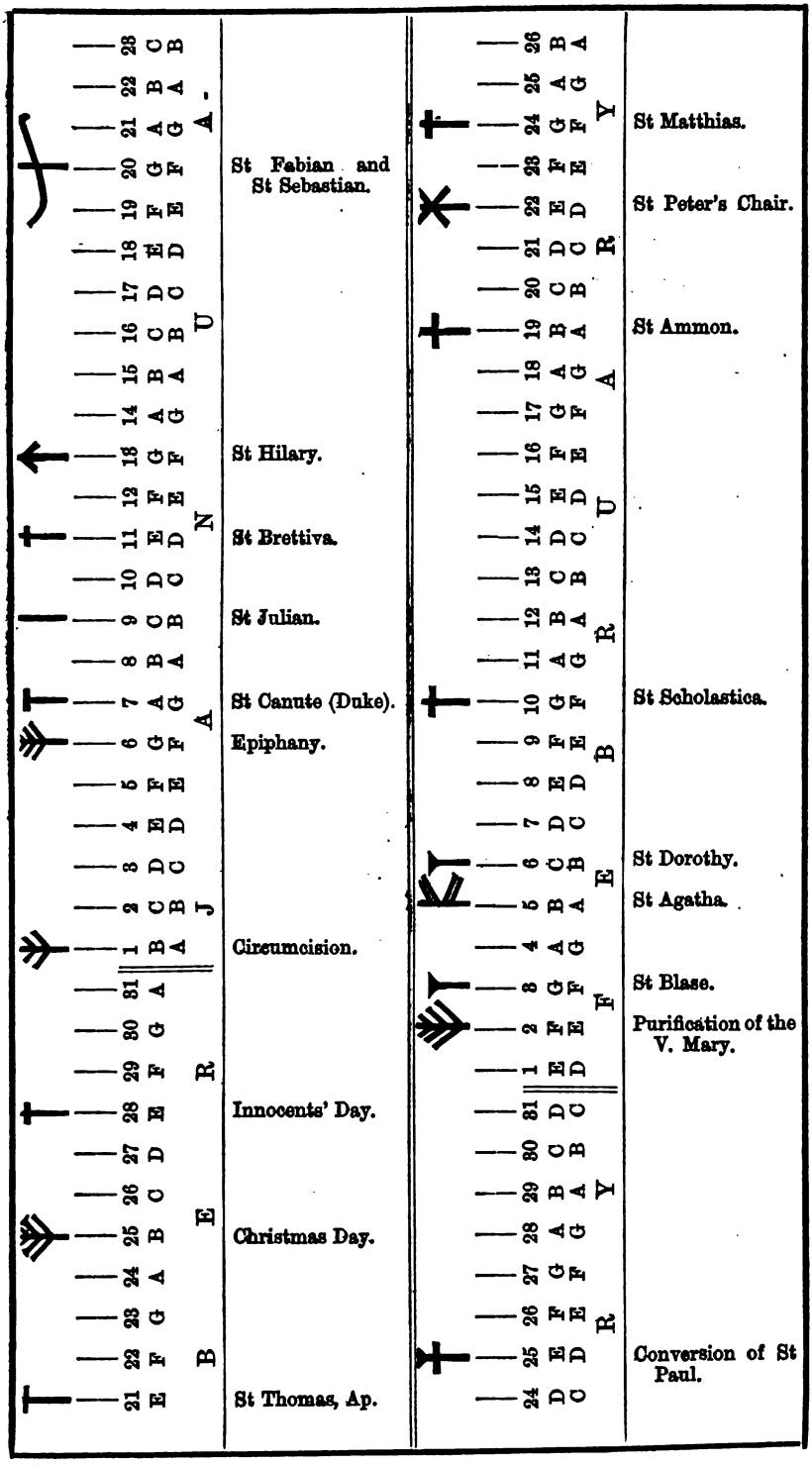
2	St Canute	Jan. 7th.
3	St Julian	„ 9th.
4	St Blase	Feb. 3rd.
5	St Dorothy	„ 6th.

It is probably only an accident that the two last mentioned groups of emblems are only confined to the winter semestre.

An identical repetition of other signs in the calendar occurs only in the case of that for St Anne's and that for St Bridget's days, which I take to be a crown, and in the case of that for Epiphany day, which is identical with the signs for the feast days of the Virgin.

*** In the following pages I have printed the whole calendar in full, adding the month, day, and dominical letter, as well as the festival which is marked by each symbol.


St Martin.
All Souls' Day.
All Saints' Day.
St Simon and St Jude.
St Ursula.
St Calixtus.
St Lucy.
St Anne, mother of the V. M. Conception of the Virgin Mary.
St Nicolas.
St Barbara.
St Andrew.
St Catharine.
St Clement.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St Hilary.
St Brettiva.
St Julian.
St Canute (Duke).
Epiphany.
Circumcision.
Innocents' Day.
Christmas Day.
St Thomas, Ap.
26 A B
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St Matthias.
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St Ammon.
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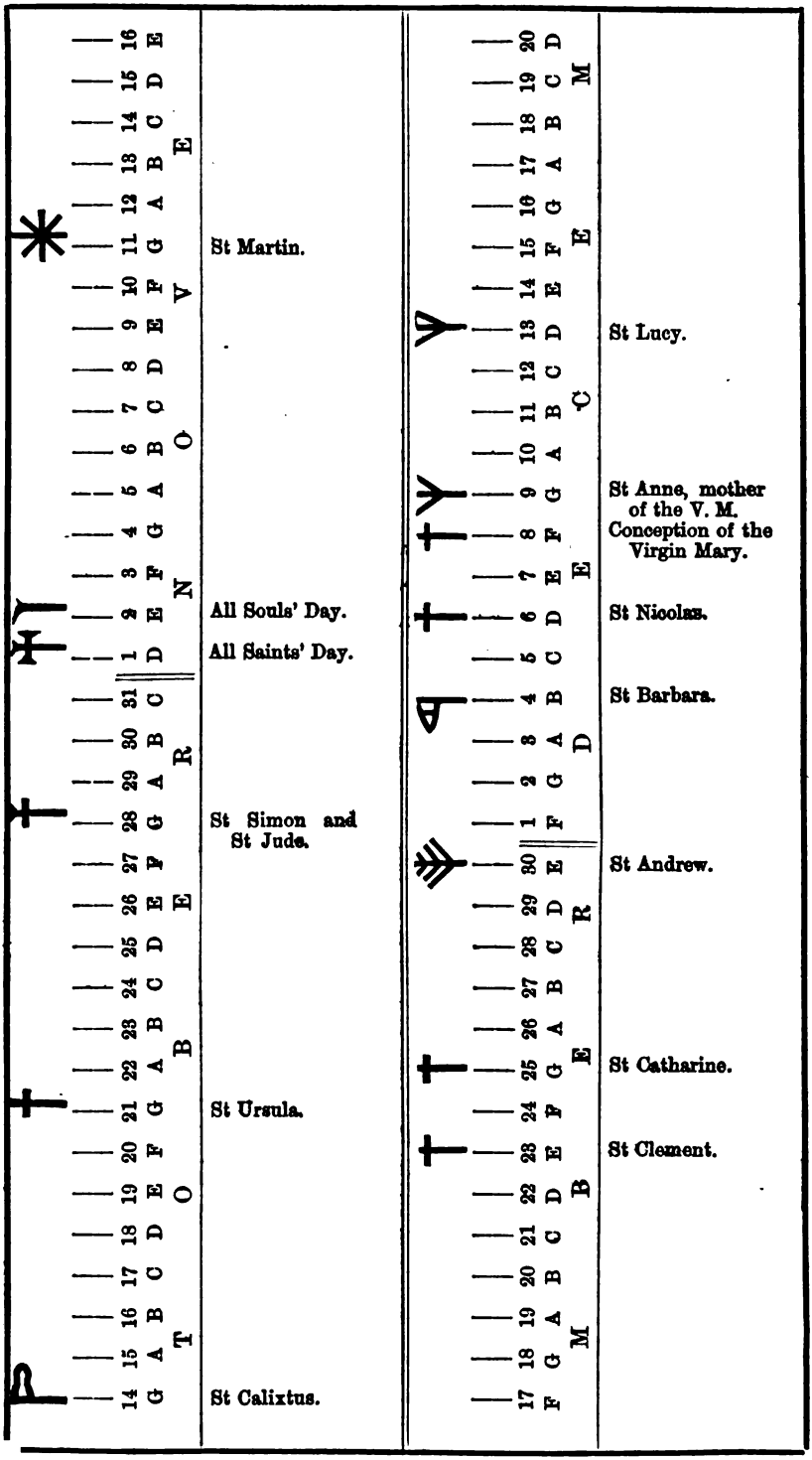
St Dorothy.
St Agatha.
St Blase.
Purification of the V. Mary.
Conversion of St Paul.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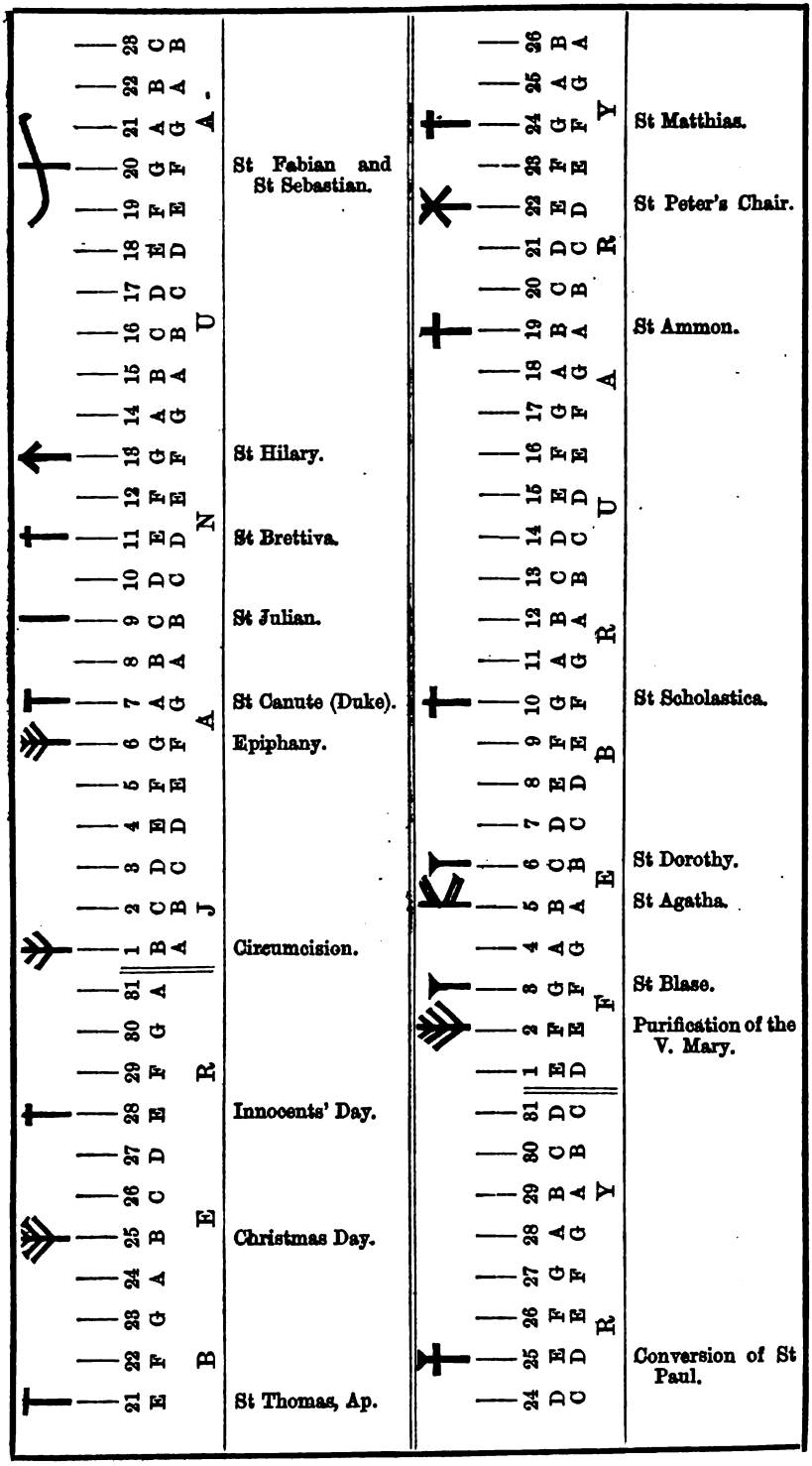
All Saints' Day.
St Simon and St Jude.
St Ursula.
St Calixtus.
St Lucy.
St Anne, mother of the V. M. Conception of the Virgin Mary.
St Nicolas.
St Barbara.
St Andrew.
St Catharine.
St Clement.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St Brettiva.
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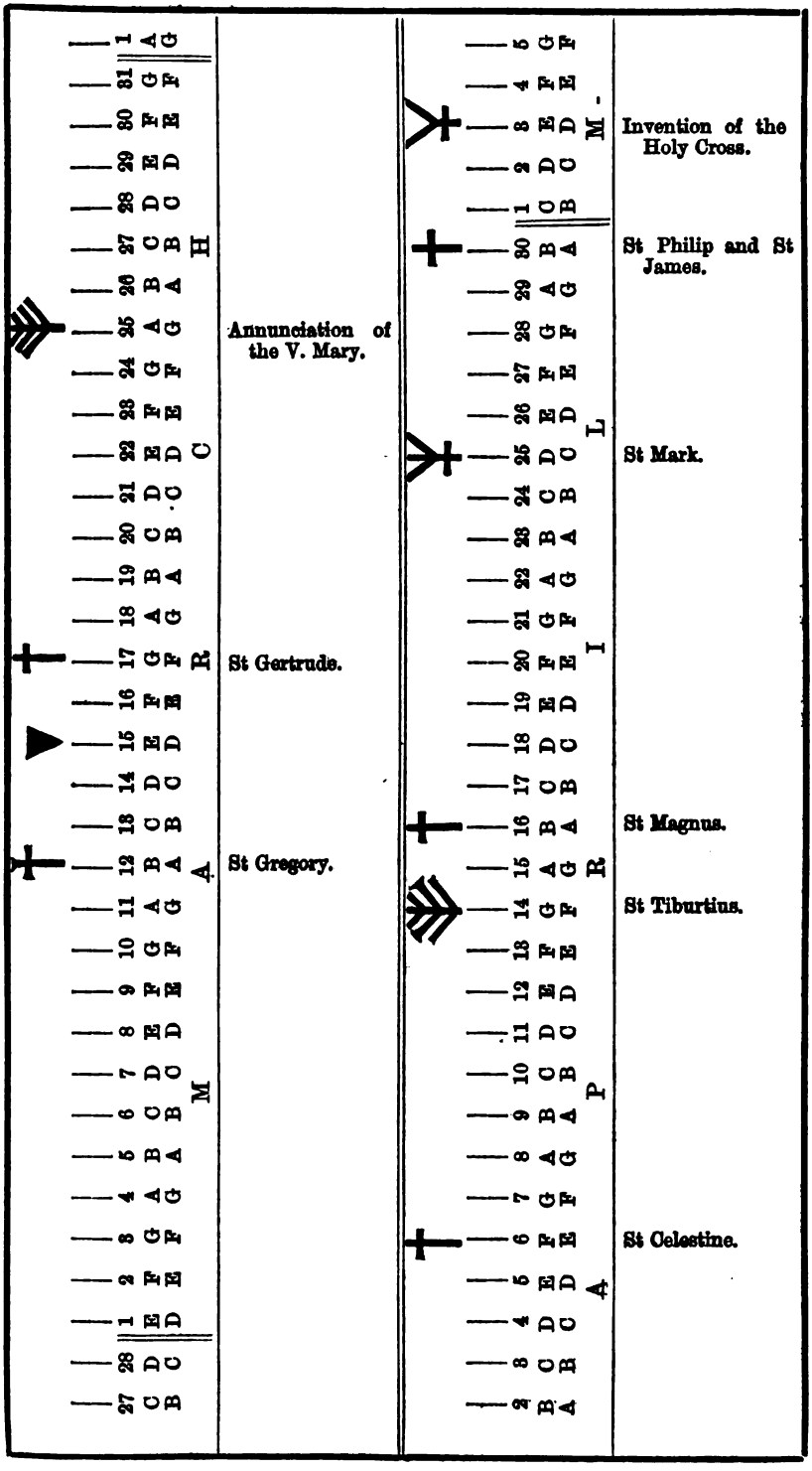
Epiphany.
Circumcision.
Innocents' Day.
Christmas Day.
St Thomas, Ap.
St Matthias.
St Peter's Chair.
St Ammon.
St Scholastica.
St Dorothy.
St Agatha.
St Blase.
Purification of the V. Mary.
Conversion of St Paul.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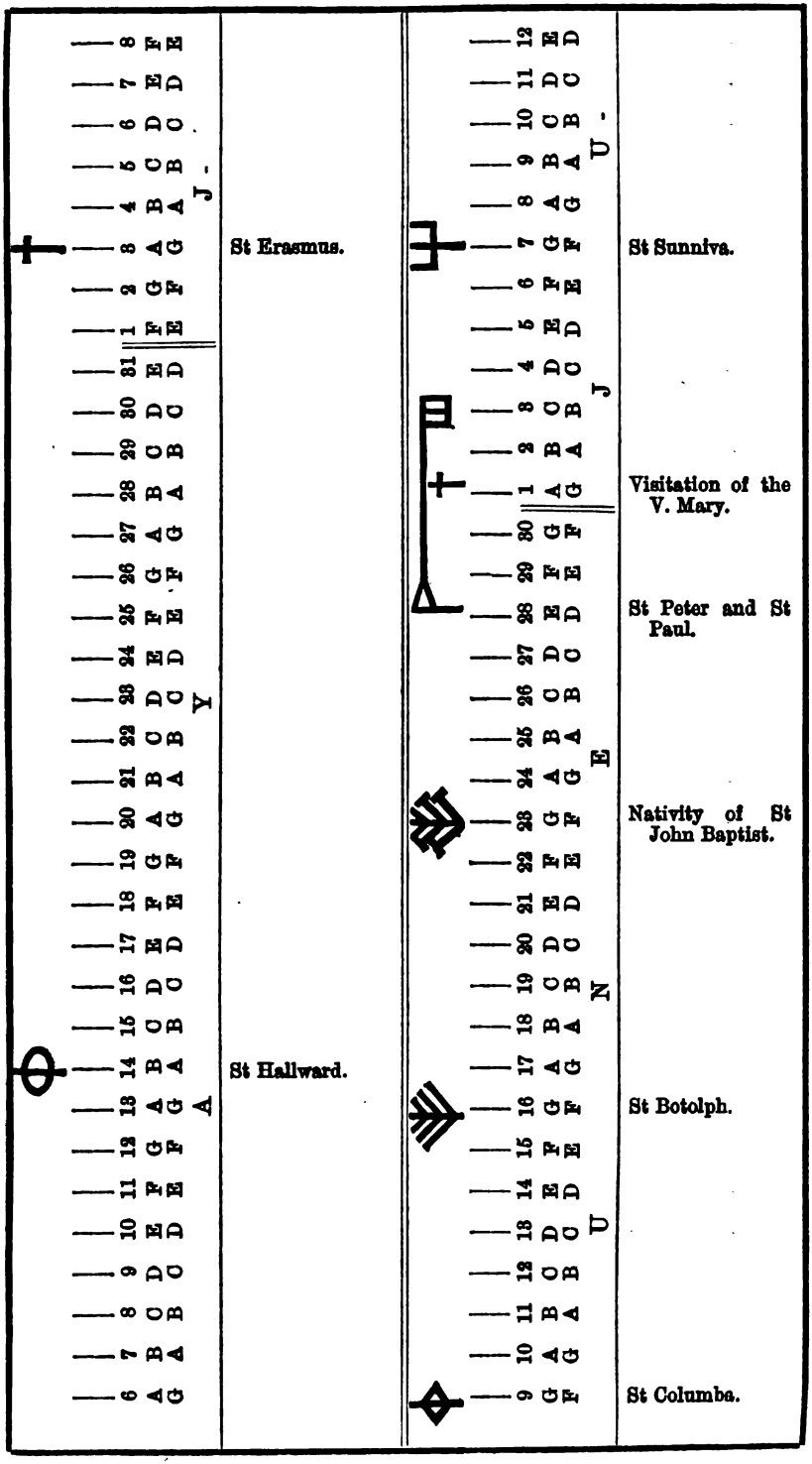
St Gertrude.
St Gregory.
Invention of the Holy Cross.
St Philip and St James.
St Mark.
St Magnus.
St Tiburtius.
St Celestine.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St Sunniva.
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St Peter and St Paul.
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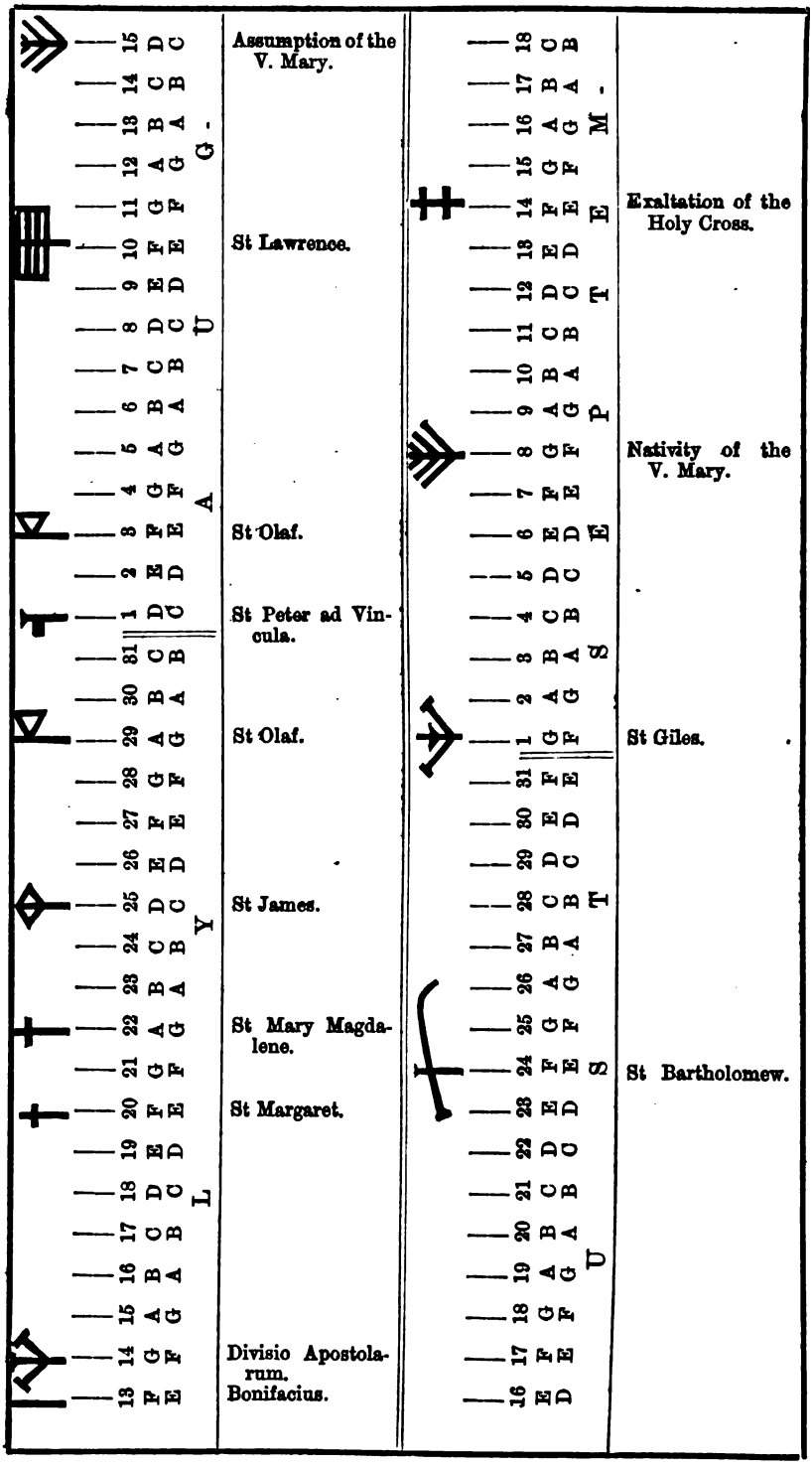
St Botolph.
St Columba.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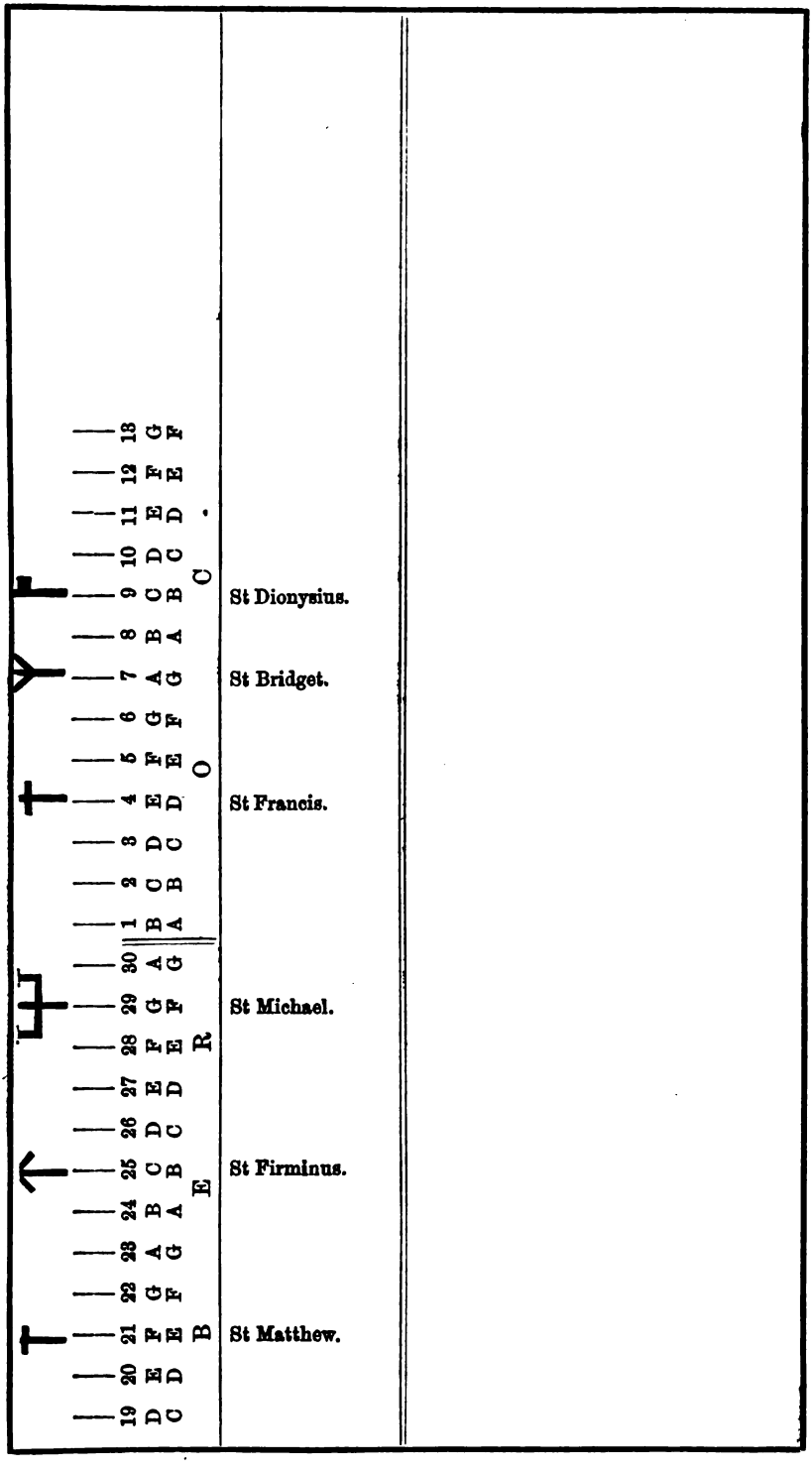
St Lawrence.
St Olaf.
St Peter ad Vincula.
St Olaf.
St James.
St Mary Magdalene.
St Margaret.
Divisio Apostolarum.
Bonifacius.
Exaltation of the Holy Cross.
Nativity of the V. Mary.
St Giles.
St Bartholomew.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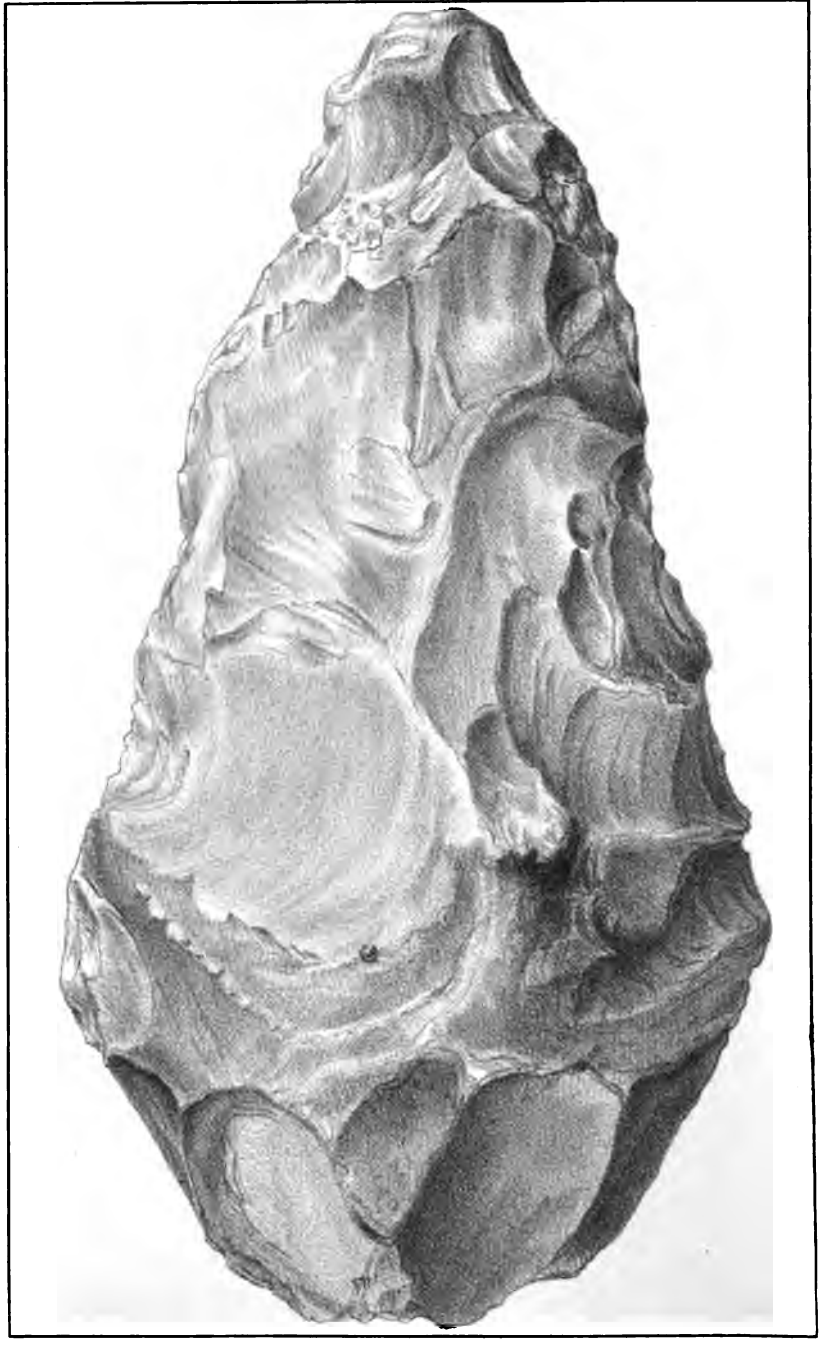
St Michael.
St Firminus.
St Matthew.



A. C. H. del. ad nat

FLINT IMPLEMENT FROM THE BARNWELL RIVER GRAVEL

(Natural Size.)

FROM THE OBSERVATORY HILL, CAMBRIDGE.
(Natural Size)

A C H del. ad nat

FROM CHESTERTON GRAVEL PITS, CAMBRIDGE.
(Natural Size)

XII. On a Flint Implement found at Barnwell, Cambs. Communicated by A. F. Griffith, Esq., Christ's College.

[May 27, 1878.]

A few weeks ago a flint implement (herewith exhibited) was found in the gravel-pit at Barnwell by the workmen from whom I bought it. It is a very fine specimen of the "hache" type, its greatest length being $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches, its greatest breadth $3\frac{5}{8}$ inches, and thickness $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches. It corresponds closely with specimens in the Woodwardian Museum from Thetford in Suffolk and from Amiens.

The pit where it was found is in the well-known Barnwell river gravel, which contains a considerable number of bones of mammalia, including the Cave tiger (*Felis spelaca*), *Rhinoceros*, *Elephas primigenius* and *antiquus*, and *Hippopotamus;* and has in places a thin band of shells, amongst which *Unio littoralis*, and *Corbicula* (*Cyrena*) *fluminalis* are common. This band however is not found in the present pit, though it occurred in the old workings, 350 feet distant, on the other side of the Newmarket Road, in what was evidently the same gravel, but which is now closed.

The occurrence of a worked flint associated with these shells is, I believe, very unusual. At Menchecourt, in France, *Cyrena fluminalis* is found in the implement-bearing gravel, while I only know of a single instance of a worked flint found in England

associated with *Unio littoralis*. This was found in the brick-earth of Crayford, Kent, by the Rev. O. Fisher, in 1872[1].

This is perhaps the first time that evidence of man's existence has been brought to light in this gravel; the only other being of a doubtful nature, and consisting of a bone which appears to have been cut by man; it was described by Mr Seeley in his paper on the Fen Drifts in the Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society, and is now in the Woodwardian Museum.

A few palaeolithic worked flints have been found round Cambridge on gravel heaps. A specimen now in the Woodwardian Museum, was found by Prof. Hughes in gravel which came from the Observatory hill. Mr Fisher also has a small "hache" of somewhat the same type as that recently found at Barnwell, but only 3½ inches long and proportionately broad; this was found in gravel which came from the Chesterton pits.

With regard to the authenticity of the specimen, I may remark that when I got it it had been partially cleaned, but all the corners were full of the peculiar fine white gravel of the bed. I only gave one shilling for it, which goes to shew that the men found it on the spot, and did not buy it in the town, to sell it at a high profit in the pit.

A remarkable character of the weapon is that, while on one side and at the blunt end it is of the tawny yellow colour so common in palaeolithic flints from the gravel, on the other side it is much whitened, probably by the action of the infiltrated water.

The chief localities in the Ouse basin (of which Cambridgeshire forms a large part) in which palaeolithic implements have been found in any abundance are by the Ouse near Bedford and on the Little Ouse near Thetford. Mr Evans[2] gives a list of the genera of mammalia and mollusca whose

[1] Vide *Geological Magazine*, June, 1872.

[2] *Stone Implements*, p. 480.

remains have been found associated with the implements at Bedford, while Mr Seeley[1] has given similar lists of those occurring in the Barnwell gravel. On comparing these we see that most of the genera occurring at Barnwell are represented in the Bedford deposits, the proportions being 13 out of 18 in the shells, and 6 out of 7 in the mammalia. A corresponding similarity exists between the implements, as may be seen from the figure which Mr Evans[2] gives of an implement found at Biddenham near Bedford, which closely corresponds with the present specimen. These facts tend to prove that the two deposits are more or less contemporaneous. Probably the manufactories of the district were situated at Bedford and Thetford, where several hundred specimens have been obtained, while the single specimens that are occasionally found scattered about the fens and round Cambridge are such as have either been lost, or spoilt and then thrown away by their owners.

The antiquity of the deposit may be inferred by the presence of remains of the animals mentioned above, all of which became extinct in England before the historic period. At the surface in the pit where this implement was found there is a considerable thickness of soil in which many human skeletons have been found, most of the bodies having been interred in a sitting posture; these may therefore be referred to the Saxon period. Beneath this is found a layer of gravel from which I have obtained a very fine wolf's skull, a beaver's vertebra, with bones of a large swimming bird, probably goose, and other remains. Now the beaver has long been extinct in England, though it lingered on in Wales[3] till the 12th century at least. Besides, the interments in the soil above could not have taken place till the additional four feet of surface-soil had been superimposed. Below this deposit we come upon nine or ten feet of a

[1] *Quarterly Journal of Geological Society*, Vol. XXII. p. 477.
[2] *Stone Implements.*
[3] Owen's *British Fossil Mammals*, p. 199.

more ancient gravel, with remains of the large extinct mammals, and of two species of mollusca which are now extinct in England, one, the *Corbicula fluminalis*, not being found alive nearer than the Nile, while the *Unio littoralis* is still found in the rivers of France. The fact that two species of mollusca have become extinct since the time this gravel was deposited probably indicates a very great lapse of time, since these less specialised forms seem[1] to require a much longer space of time to disappear from any country by natural processes than the large mammalia, which from their higher organization adapt themselves less readily to new surroundings.

Among the many possible uses to which such implements as these may have been applied, one appears to have been overlooked. Many African tribes are in the habit of fixing some kind of spear-head into the heavy beam of a 'dead-fall' trap to make it more effective in killing the larger animals. Others, as related by Sir Samuel Baker[2], fix a spear-head into a very heavy short handle and drop it from a tree into the back of an animal passing underneath. Many of the river gravel implements would do well for either of these purposes.

In the plate prefixed will be found figures of the three Cambridge implements mentioned in this paper, for the drawings of which I am indebted to the kindness of Mr A. C. Haddon, of Christ's College.

[1] Lyell's *Student's Elements of Geology*, p. 139.
[2] 'Ismailia,' p. 272.

XIII. Notice of a Ring found at Montpensier and supposed to have belonged to the Black Prince. Communicated by Edw. Hailstone, Esq., Junr.

[May 27, 1878.]

[Drawn to double the actual size.]

This ring which has been kindly shewn to me by the Baron Jérome Pichon, residing at 17, Quai d'Anjou, Paris, is a fine specimen of fourteenth century work; and as it has been assigned to the former possession of Edward, the Black Prince, claims the attention of English archæologists.

The castle of Montpensier, of which no traces now exist, stood at an elevation of 1456 feet above the level of the sea,

at no great distance from Aigueperse in the *arrondissement* of Riom, and the province of Auvergne. Here it was that in 1866 a young shepherdess was tending her flock, when her eyes lit upon something sparkling in the ground beneath her, near to what had evidently in days of yore served as one of the fosses of the château. The object proved to be a gold ring, beside which were traces of human bones. Not that the jewel lay exactly upon the surface of the ground, but that in lazily turning over the soil with the end of her crook, the shepherdess had displaced some four or five inches of earth. It is difficult to say how far what she asserted is true, viz., that within the ring there was a portion of a human finger-bone.

The ring itself is in very good preservation, weighs ½ oz., and is ½ inch in diameter: the signet is octagonal, set with an extremely fine ruby, what is called a "balais," upon which is cut a head, and around in the gold is SIGILLVM SACRATVM. This head is nearly full face, round and chubby in appearance, and on the top has massive hair dressed in short small curls, and falling low down over the ears. Around the side of that part of the ring which forms the seal are a series of small shields, in which are inserted in relief the letters S^c.-GE-OR-GI-US. Around the ring itself in the hoop is in relief the beginning of a verse in Saint Luke's Gospel—IASVS AVTAM TRANSIENS PER MEDIVM ILLORVM IBAT ET VERBVM[1], &c.

So much for the description of the ring. At first it fell into the hands of M. Victorin Jusseraud, then Mayor of Montpensier, whose nephew, my friend M. Edward Jusseraud, of the War Office in Paris, drew my attention to it, and kindly procured me an introduction to the Baron Pichon. This nobleman, already known for his collections of objects of *virtù*, purchased the jewel of Monsieur Victorin Jusseraud in 1877 and it is now deposited in the company of many other mag-

[1] Sc. CANO · FACTVM · EST.

nificent rings in his collection. To these gentlemen we owe a debt of thanks.

Three notices (of which I have freely availed myself) have been already published concerning this discovery of the shepherdess. I. In the Compte-rendu de l'association française pour l'avancement des sciences, 5e Session, held at Clermont Ferrand in 1876, p. 658, by Monsieur Michel Cohendy, archiviste du Puy de Dôme, &c., &c. II. In the Compte-rendu des séances (1876—1877) de la société du musée de Riom, p. 42, also by M. Cohendy: and III. in the Academia Española, tome I. Part I., p. 9, by Señor Don F. M. Tubino.

In former times the castle of Montpensier had been a place of considerable importance. It was here that Louis VIII., the husband of Blanche of Castille and father of Saint Louis, rested on his return from the war against the Albigenses, and died on Nov. 28, 1226. Proof of this is given by a charter in which King Philip III., when ratifying a deed of foundation in favour of the Abbey of St André de Clermont, reminds the monks that the heart and entrails of the king, his uncle, had been transferred from the castle of Montpensier to the above-mentioned monastery. At that time Guichard de Beaujeu was possessor of this fief. His son Humbert was constable of the castle, and accompanied Saint Louis in his crusades, assisting at the battle of Massora in 1250, and at the siege of Tunis in 1270. At the end of the fourteenth century Jean duc de Berry et d'Auvergne was lord and master.

It is quite possible that the ring was entrusted as a pass or safe-conduct to one of those English generals who concentrated their forces and then spread them over the provinces of Guienne, Gascony and Auvergne. They marched forward to oppose the army of King John of France at the time when Edward III. had espoused the cause of Charles of Navarre. The passage of the English troops is thus described by Froissart (*ed. Luce* Vol. v.):—Li princes de Galles et se route, ou bien avait deux

mil hommes d'armes et six mil arciers, chevauçoient à leur aise et recouvroient de tous vivres a grand faison; et trouvoient le pays d'auvergne où ja il estoit entré et avalé, si gras et si raempli de tous biens, que merveilles seroit à considérer. Mais comme plentiveus que il le trouvaissent il ne voloient mies entendre ne arrester a cou; ançois voloient guerrier et grever leurs ennemis. Si ardoient et essilloient le pays tout devant yaus et environ. Et quant il estoient entré en une ville et il le trouvoient raemplie et pourveue largement de tous vivres et il si estoient refreschi deux jours ou trois et il s'en partoient il essilloient le demorant et effondroient les tonniaus plains de vins et ardoient bleds et avainnes afin que leur ennemi n'en cuissent aise; et puis si chevauçoient avant. Et tout dis trouvaient il bon pays et plantiveus," &c. Thus far Froissart. From Lemerre's "Histoire du moyen âge" we learn that the Black Prince feeling that his troops were too few and too badly provided with food and material of war, offered to abandon his former conquests, his booty and his captives, and cease to bear arms against his suzerain for seven years. A demand was then made that he should render himself up as a prisoner of war together with a hundred of his knights. This proposal rendered battle inevitable. The English now reduced to 8,000 men fortified themselves in the plain of Maupertuis a few leagues from Poitiers. Famine prevailed in their camp, and they could easily have been starved out: John on the other hand was eager for battle and felt certain of victory, seeing that he was in command of 16,000 men. It is needless to recount the details of the combat, fought on Sept. 19, 1356. The French were entirely routed, leaving as many as 11,000 men lying dead upon the field. John and his son Philip fought bravely throughout, the former receiving three wounds, and both were taken prisoners. The royal captives were conducted in triumph to London. After the peace of Bretigny John returned to France, but subsequently he made an expedition, it is said on a love affair, to London, and died in the Savoy, April 8, 1364.

It is to this period of history that M. Cohendy assigns the ring under our notice, and gives the following reasons for thinking that it once belonged to the Black Prince.

I. The cast of countenance and the form of the hair is like the type found on the coins of Ed. III. and more particularly the nobles.

II. The coincidence of the words found on the reverse of these nobles: IҼSVS ΠVTҼM TRΠNSIҼNS PҼR MҼDIVM ILLORVM IBΠT ҼT VҼRBVM, &c.

III. The presence of a rose marking the intervening spaces between the words.

IV. The letters, S^{e} Georgius, as given above, Saint George being the patron saint of England.

V. The elegance and richness of the bijou, (an exceptional work of art for the time when it was made) suggests that it could only have been the property of some great and illustrious personage.

Now in reply to all this we would by no means say that the ring was never the property of the Black Prince, but we simply suggest a verdict of "not proven." The expression *sigillum secretum* or privy seal is, as is well known, by no means confined to illustrious personages as M. Cohendy seems to think. It is used in contradistinction to the "seal of office." Thus in monastic documents we find the conventual seal and the private seal of the abbot or prior, but in the same documents we find the seal of quite poor and unimportant people also bearing the words *sigillum secretum*. The head is undoubtedly like that on the coins of Edward III. both in face and form. The manner of wearing the hair may or may not be the same as on the money of that period.

The legend IҼSVS · ΠVTҼM, &c., was, as we know from

Maundeville (page 11, ed. Halliwell, 1839), a common charm for travellers.

Again, it is quite possible to imagine the device marking the intervening spaces between each word to be a rose, but it is by no means positively clear that this is the case: and even so the *rose* did not become a party-badge until the following century. The best argument however in favour of its having belonged to an English general of high rank is the name of England's patron saint, St George; while at the same time the extreme richness of the workmanship and the fineness and purity of the ruby make it conceivable that the owner was a man of high rank. Thus although, on the one hand, it may have belonged to the Black Prince, on the other, there are equal grounds for supposing that it was owned by one of his followers; and if it be true, as the shepherdess asserted, that there were remains of a finger within the circle of the ring, it would seem suggestive of an idea that the knight, who wore it when on some delicate and confidential mission, was attacked before the earthworks of Montpensier and paid the penalty of his temerity with his life.

Of this same period, the signet-ring of Charles V. of France is set with a fine ruby, and decorated with similar roses on the shank, as is seen in the following woodcut taken, by the kind permission of the author, from King's *Antique Gems and Rings*, vol. I. page 397, (London, 1872).

[Actual size.]

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

XIV. Description of a Mediæval Merchant's Mark, and some Remarks upon Seals of the same period. Communicated by Reginald Dutton, Esq., Trinity College 187

XV. On an Ancient Canoe found imbedded in the Fen-Peat near Magdalen Bend, on the River Ouse, in the County of Norfolk. Communicated by W. Marshall, Esq., of Ely . . . 195

XVI. On the Maces of the Esquire Bedells, and the Mace formerly borne by the Yeoman Bedell. Communicated by A. P. Humphry, Esq., M.A., Trinity College. (With one Plate.) . 207

XVII. Description of an Old Wooden Tankard. Communicated by Dr G. Mackenzie Bacon, M.A. 219

XVIII. History of the Peal of Bells belonging to King's College, Cambridge. Communicated by J. W. Clark, Esq., M.A., Trinity College. (With one Plate.) 223

XIX. Notes upon Discoveries made during the recent restoration of Landbeach Church, by the Rev. Bryan Walker, LL.D., Rector. (With two Plates.) 245

XX. On the Table of Distances between different Towns given by Holinshed in his description of England. Communicated by the Rev. J. B. Pearson, D.D., Emmanuel College . . . 259

XXI. On "La Maison Plantin" at Antwerp. Communicated by J. E. Foster, Esq., M.A., Trinity College 271

XXII. On nine Roman signets lately found in the lead-mines at Charterhouse on Mendip. By the Rev. S. S. Lewis, M.A., Corpus Christi College 277

XXIII. On the Old Provost's Lodge of King's College, with special reference to the Furniture. Communicated by J. W. Clark, Esq., M.A., Trinity College 285

XIV. Description of a Mediæval Merchant's Mark, and some Remarks upon Seals of the same period.

Communicated by Reginald Dutton, Esq., Trinity College.

[November 25, 1878.]

The Seal, which forms part of the subject of this communication, was found last year, in one of the coprolite pits to the left of the Newmarket Road.

It is cast in a mixed metal resembling brass, and has been carefully finished, both as to shape and design. Like all, or nearly all the seals of this period, used by secular persons, it is circular in shape, oval seals being rarely used by any save females or ecclesiastics.

1. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries the wax used was commonly white; and it seems that it was not until the end of the twelfth century that green wax became at all common. In almost all instances, however, we find that the green seals are in better preservation than either the red or the white. This is probably owing to the better composition of the wax. Eleventh century seals are marked by a poverty of invention, a want of imitative power, and, in many cases, by a rude and superficial execution. At the close of

the twelfth century the introduction of heraldic insignia produced a large class of seals of an exclusively armorial character; and from this date may be traced an improvement in the design and execution of personal seals. At the commencement of the thirteenth century the legal necessity for seals was thoroughly established; and it is obvious that at that time there must have been a number of persons who required them for the ordinary transactions of life. Thus Yeomen, Merchants, and substantial artificers, in short all persons comprehended in the term *Middle Class*, continued to fashion their seals according to their own taste. For instance, a miller's would bear an ear of corn; the farrier's calling would be represented by a horseshoe; while the schoolmaster's symbol of office would most naturally be the birch.

But perhaps the period when mediæval seals attained their highest excellence, from an artistic point of view, was from the thirteenth to the end of the fourteenth century. For with the accession of Henry III. a new impulse was given to all branches of art, and this is nowhere more conspicuous than in the design and execution of seals. The wax used during this period was usually dark green, and comparatively seldom red or white. After the year 1400, *personal seals*, which are not of an armorial character, gradually decline in importance, both as to size, design, and execution. *Merchants' Marks*, which appear to have been copied from the Flemings, during the reign of Edward the Third, and become very common during the fifteenth century, were usually composed of a private cypher, combined with the initials of the owner's name. They were generally used in the great seaports on the East coast of England; a fact which has been accounted for by the frequent intercourse between those ports and Flanders. Such marks chiefly belonged to *Woolfactors or Merchants of the Staple.*

And this may possibly account, in some measure, for the

device upon our Merchant's Mark in the Seal before you. For just as a miller would take an ear of corn, or a farrier a horseshoe, as the symbol of their respective trades, so a woolfactor might probably take a lamb as the symbol of his: and further, with a view to special patronage would take the Agnus Dei as the device upon his seal. It seems almost impossible to determine accurately what the other marks represent; or even to say to what particular town the merchant owner belonged. Mr Birch is of opinion that there is no clue whatever to locality, and, as to date, supposes the matrix to have been cast during the fifteenth century, in the reign of Henry VI. Another authority on these matters (Mr King) pronounces it fourteenth century work; so that the exact date is somewhat doubtful.

2. Next, as to the materials usually employed for making the matrices of mediæval seals. *Lead*, from the facility of working it, was naturally first adopted for the seals of the middle and poorer classes; and among the examples preserved of thirteenth century seals are many formed from that metal. The nobility, and the upper classes generally, used some harder metal, probably *silver*. From the thirteenth to the end of the fifteenth century *a mixed metal resembling brass* was mostly used, the manufacture of which was long confined to Cologne; of which metal the matrix before you is an example.

3. Then, as to the general devices on secular seals from the eleventh to the end of the fifteenth century. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries the commonest symbols were, mounted knights; effigies of females; the Agnus Dei; birds (generally of the Falcon tribe); animals (commonly lions); stars and crescents, diversely arranged. During the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, they were heraldic devices; birds, animals, and flowers; symbols of crafts; satirical devices; effigies of patron Saints; the Agnus Dei; the head of S. John the Baptist, and symbols of the four Evangelists.

Having said thus much about the wax, the metal of the matrices, and the devices engraved upon the seals; I will pass briefly over their classification, and dwell upon examples of various seals.

As to their classification, seals are divided into two great classes or divisions: (1) *Ecclesiastical*, (2) *Lay or Secular*. These may again be divided into (1) *Official*, and (2) *Personal seals*. Once more we may subdivide these again, (1) the *Ecclesiastical Official Seals*, (*a*) seals of *individuals*, which make reference to their dignities, offices, or preferments; (*β*) *official* seals *not identified with any individual officer*. (2) While the *Lay Seals* comprise those (*a*) of *Sovereigns* and *Royal personages*; (*β*) seals of *other persons holding official appointments*; (*γ*) *common* seals of bodies corporate and the like.

As a fine example of engraving on seals, we may take the Seal of Margaret, the wife of Earl Seher, and daughter of the Earl of Leicester. This seal which she used in her widowhood about 1220, is inscribed, "Sigill: Margarete de Quency comitisse Wintonie". It represents her standing under an arch on which is a cinque foil, the badge of the Honour of Leicester. Her close dress is covered with mascles, and her mantle is figured wavy or vairée, probably intended to represent fur. On a tree by her side, are hung two shields, the lower charged with a fess and chevronels, like that of her husband, and the upper with seven mascles, 3, 3, and 1.

Among the most beautifully executed, as well as the most carefully preserved specimens of seals, are those of the Bishops of Durham. As the best or most curious of these, we may observe those of (1) Bishop Skirlaw, who is represented holding the head of S. Oswald. (2) Robert de Neville again is represented armed, upon his charger, the bardings of which have the Neville saltire charged with a gimmel ring for difference. His helmet is surmounted with a coronetted mitre, from which emerges a bull's head, the crest of the Nevilles. Several of the

Bishops of Durham exhibit a similar treatment upon their seals; as for example Thomas de Hatfield, and John de Fordham.

But perhaps the most beautiful, as well as the most perfect seal of all, is that of Anthony Bek (Bishop of Durham). It is surrounded by the following legend:—✝ S' : ANTONII : DEI : GRA : SCE : INCROSOLOMIT' : ECCLESIE : PATRIARCHE : ET : EPI : DVNELMEN'.

The upper part bears the crucifix, with SS. Mary and John beneath a beautifully crocketted canopy. Below this is a compartment with the Holy Sepulchre, and sleeping guards, and an angel exhibiting the linen clothes to the three Maries, who are represented bearing spices to anoint the dead Christ. The angel holds a tau cross in his hand, in allusion to the Bishop's name. At the base is a kneeling figure of the Bishop, between two patriarchal crosses. On either side of this composition is a fine canopy: the dexter one containing a figure of the Virgin and Child, the sinister one a Bishop (probably S. Cuthbert), with the head of S. Oswald in his hand. The composition is completed by two small circles bearing the cross recercelée of the Bishop.

There are some very beautiful specimens, in good preservation, of the seals of Knights and civilians; as for instance that of Alexander de Neville, which bears a beautifully diapered shield of Neville, differenced with a crescent, suspended from a tree, to which are chained two muzzled bears, supporting the shield between them. This is a curious illustration of a badge being used as supporters.

The seal of Henry le Scrop again bears the Scrop shield, differenced with a label, hanging from a mantled helm surmounted by a crest, two arms issuant from a coronet. From behind the shield a lion's paw is holding a pennon.

The seal of Adam de Swyneburne seems to have been the most carefully finished of these. It has a shield charged with

five tapels on a cross; the composition being filled up with three boars' heads. Also a bearing of the family.

The seal of John de Louthre has a figure of S. George and the dragon, and a shield charged with six amulets.

The seal of William de Ilkystone has his shield bearing three mitres.

From the above examples, it will be seen how various the devices upon the different seals are. They are all in fair preservation, some of them even very well preserved, notably that of Adam de Swyneburne.

One more very curious shield of oval shape we get from Alnwick, in Northumberland. It belongs to Agnes de Vesci, and bears her effigy upon it, in a mantle lined with vair. In her left hand she holds a large cross patonce, and her right supports the shield of her husband, gules, cross patonce argent. On her left is the shield of her own family (De Ferrers), vairée or and gules.

The counter seal has a large *garbe* or wheatsheaf, from which hang four shields—Those of De Vesci, Le Maréshall (per pale or and vert, a lion rampant gules), Ranolph, Earl of Chester (azure three garbs or); the fourth shield has been broken off.

The seal of Anthony, the great Bastard of Burgundy, bears the arms of the Duke Philip his father, differenced by a mark of illegitimacy, viz., quarterly 1 and 4. Burgundy modern; 2 per pale Burgundy ancient and Brabant; 3 per pale Burgundy ancient and Limbourg, on an inescutcheon Flanders; over all a bâton sinister (the barre de travers mentioned by de la Marche) for a difference. The shield is ensigned with a helmet in profile; and for a crest an owl full faced; the supporters are two griffins; and the legend, which is on a scroll, is anthonie bastart de bourgoingne conte de la roche. The words being on every occasion separated by a fleur-de-lys (probably derived from the crest of his father) instead of the usual point or points, and a fleur-de-lys also appears on one end of the scroll.

The above may be taken as fair instances of seal engraving during the middle ages. I have selected these, either because they had something peculiar in their design, or because of the care which the engraver had evidently bestowed upon his work. Like other works of art of this period, the artificer appears to have given much time and careful thought to his labour, which in many of the above instances is exceedingly well finished. The grouping of figures, as well as the general effect of the whole composition, and not least the sharp precision with which the matrix was originally engraved, all tend to show this; and among modern seal engravers, it is perhaps not rash or unfair to say that very few have equalled, and very, very far the greater number come short of, the engravers on metal of the middle ages.

I have just now had an opportunity of examining a very good specimen of a fine thumb-ring, on which is a merchant's mark similar to the one I have described. It was found in Winchester some time ago, and is, I believe, the only seal of the kind yet discovered in that city. This fact is the more singular, inasmuch as Winchester was once famous as one of the ten great marts for the sale of wool, woolfells, and leather, established by Edward III. The ring is of silver, massive and pure; the mark will be seen in the engraving. The letters

are "h" "a." The full name of the merchant, whose mark of cognizance and whose initials the seal bears, has not been found. As in the case of nearly all the merchants' marks that we have seen, it bears the sign of the cross. It may be well to remark for the information of those who would pursue this subject further, that Newton in his "Display of Heraldry" gives

several engravings of the more interesting devices on seals of this character. It would seem to me that these devices, simple as they are, and fanciful no doubt, have far more taste in them than some of the modern explanatory armorial bearings of the present day. In the latter case heraldry loses its ancient dignity.

XV. On an Ancient Canoe found imbedded in the Fen-Peat near Magdalen Bend, on the River Ouse, in the County of Norfolk. Communicated by W. Marshall, Esq., of Ely.

[Nov. 25, 1878.]

Remains of ancient Canoes have been from time to time found in the Fens, but the records of such findings are very imperfect, and often die with the individuals who had to do with the work. Moreover the Canoes themselves are too unwieldy to be placed in Museums, and even if they were, the change from wet to dry which they undergo would cause them to split up into shapeless fragments, and come at length to be swept away as rubbish.

My own experience of such findings is that they are brought up from the Fens, placed in the finder's garden, are seen by a few of the curious in such things, and in a few years fall to pieces and disappear. This was the fate of a very fine Canoe which was found some thirty years ago, in North Fen, in Haddenham, and lay in the garden of the Vicar, the Rev. Samuel Banks, M.A.[1], till it fell to pieces. It is an instance of a most interesting find, which is nowhere recorded (that I know of), except perhaps in a fleeting paragraph of a Local Newspaper, and but for the accident of this

[1] Now Rector of Cottenham in this county.

present Communication would be lost to posterity as an ingredient in the history of the Fens.

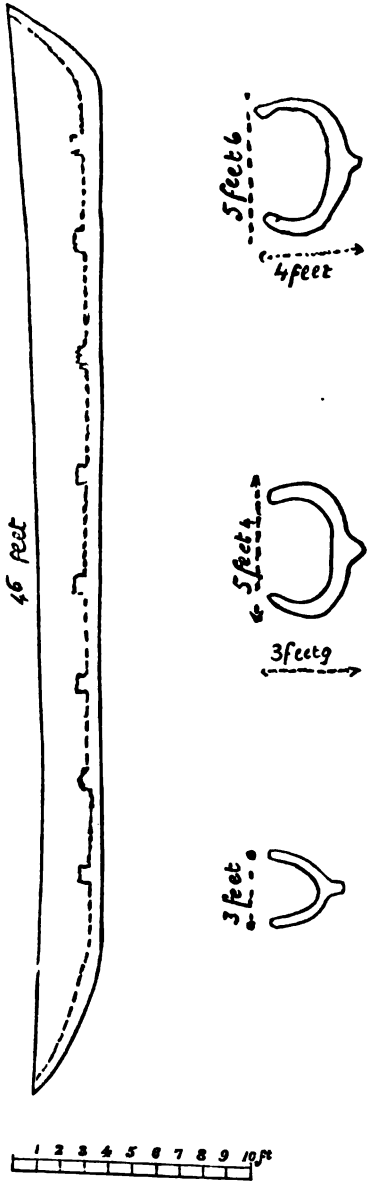
I am indebted to Mr Banks for the following facts connected with this Canoe. It was found about 1843, and was bottom upwards. The bottom was struck by a plough. It was covered with peat. It was about 26 feet long, and not less than 2 feet 6 in. wide, and was made out of one single oak tree, except that there were grooves in the stern for a board to drop into. The sides were perpendicular and not curved in any part. Mr Banks offered to send the Canoe to Cambridge; but there was no room for it. The remains were left in the Vicarage Garden at Haddenham, when Mr Banks quitted England for China in 1847.

Now this is but a meagre account compared with what might have been known concerning this Canoe, if all the circumstances connected with its finding had been carefully noted and recorded at the time. And the same fate would assuredly have befallen the find, of which this Paper will contain an account, but for an invitation from the Secretary that I should write a short Paper upon it for the Cambridge Antiquarian Society. The remains of my Canoe have been lying in my yard at Ely for the last few weeks and are splitting up into small bits, and are likely very soon to disappear.

It may be worth while at this point to refer briefly to the records of earlier findings also. In the "Relation touching the Fens," published by Andrew Burrell, anno 1642, p. 2 (quoted by Dugdale, in his "History of Embanking and Draining," p. 177), it appears "that in 1635, upon the deepening of Wisbech River, the workmen at 8 feet below the then bottom thereof, came to another bottom which was stony, and in it at several distances found several boats that had lain there overwhelmed with the silt for ages." But this case is not one of Canoes being found imbedded in the *Peat*. These boats were in the *Silt*.

Walker and Craddock, in their "History of Wisbech," 1849, p. 36, have this passage: "But the most interesting and perhaps most authentic relic of this early period was a Canoe found in Deeping Fen, in 1839. This was of oak hollowed out of a single tree of the extraordinary length of 46 feet. Its head was 3 feet across, and its stern 5 feet 8 inches, and 4 feet deep. A keel ran along the bottom, and its sides were hollowed out towards the stern. Eight ribs crossed the bottom serving at once to strengthen the Canoe and affording firm foothold to the rowers." Messrs Walker and Craddock add in a note: "For this account we are indebted to Algernon Peckover, Esq., who has also furnished a Drawing, which we regret we did not receive early enough to have engraved[1]." Messrs Walker and Craddock go on to say, "We are also indebted to the same gentleman for the following additional particulars. The Canoe is of oak and was found last spring (1839), about 3 feet below the surface of the land, filled with clay, and appears to have rested on cross-timbers which had broken down with the weight. There was not any iron or tools of any kind, the only things found were about fifty small stones about 1½ in. diameter. It was sound at the bottom, but the sides were partly decayed. The bottom is about seven inches thick at the wide end, and five inches thick at the other. There are ribs left for strength, and the log must have contained at least 650 cubic feet." This is the largest British Canoe of which we have seen any account. There is a similar one in every particular of shape and workmanship in the British Museum; but its length is only 34 feet 4 inches. It was found in a Creek at North Stoke, on the River Arun, in Sussex. It has been engraved in the 26th

[1] As this Paper was going through the Press, I wrote to Mr Peckover to inquire whether this Drawing was still in existence, and he has kindly sent me a tracing which is here given.—*Vide* SKETCH on page 198.


46 feet
5 feet 6
4 feet
5 feet 4
3 feet 9
3 feet
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 ft

Volume of the "Archæologia," and in the "Pictorial History of England," Vol. I. page 102.

Mr Skertchley, in his recent "Geological Memoir of the Fenland," 1877, p. 246, says: "Several Canoes have been dug up in different parts of the Fens, they are chiefly hollowed trees, or what the Americans call 'dug-outs,' and decay very rapidly when exposed to the air. They have been found in the Fens of Lincolnshire only, so far as I know, and the localities are Kyme, Billinghay, Langtoft and Pinchbeck Bars. Of those found at the two former places the fact only is recorded. The Langtoft Canoe was found about the year 1850, being hewn out of a single oak trunk, the marks of the axe being clear both on the inside and the outside. The ends were rounded, the length was 48 feet, and the breadth inside where greatest 4½ feet. The tree was estimated to have contained 650 feet of timber. Nothing was found inside save a few pebbles. This interesting relic was burnt because 'it cumbered the ground[1].' The Canoe at Pinchbeck Bars was a more pretentious vessel being made of rough planks fastened together with wooden pegs. It lay about 10 feet from the surface. Its measurement I could not obtain."

I will now proceed to record the history of my Canoe, but before doing so, I must premise that in the Fens there is a deep bed of peat or moor varying from 4 to 10 or more feet thick generally reposing upon a bed of clay (commonly called "Buttery Clay" from its soft and greasy appearance) and beneath that there is frequently found another layer of vegetable soil much thinner than the upper layer, and of a different composition, and often exhibiting only a dark trace of vegetable

[1] Although the date of finding and the dimensions of this Canoe differ somewhat from that of Deeping, I cannot but think the same Canoe is intended. Langtoft is close to Deeping, and the similar contents of 650 feet with the reference to the pebbles are suspicious.

matter. Beneath this lies the original surface either of Boulder Clay or gravel, or the regular stratum of Kimmeridge or Oxford Clay, according to the position in the Fens, east or west. This uppermost bed of peat occupies the surface in the southern portions of the Bedford Level, but as it approaches the sea it is covered with a layer of warp or silt which increases gradually in thickness as it lies nearer to the Estuary of the Wash[1]. The effect of this arrangement of the superficial strata of the Fens is that our rivers in their lower courses cut through both the warp or silt, the peat and the "Buttery Clay," and excavate their beds deep into the lower strata on their way to the sea, and at low water these several beds are seen in clear section all the way down the river Ouse from Denver Sluice to Lynn. The peat or moor bed with which this paper has most to do is about 4 feet in thickness, very much compressed, dense, containing often stools of oak and yew, black, and as it lies between the grey warp or silt above, and the pale blue soft clay beneath, it presents by contrast of colour a conspicuous, nearly horizontal black band, cropping out in both banks of the river at low water. Owing to its tough and fibrous texture it resists the action of the water better than the warp above or the clay beneath, and for that reason it often projects into the river, till being undermined by the scouring away of the clay beneath, it breaks off into great lumps which often give a broken and irregular look to the sides of our tidal river.

It was in this peat bed at a point in the river Ouse about halfway between Denver Sluice and Lynn, in fact just above the Great Horse-shoe Bend, commonly called "Maudlin Bend," that the Canoe I am about to describe was found.

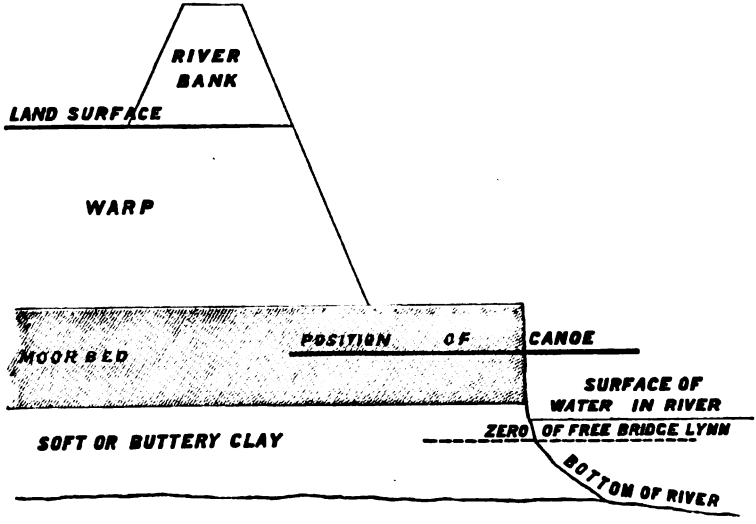
For several years past, I have had occasion once and some-

[1] This feature of the Fen Country is well shown in a Map contained in the lately published work "Fen Land past and present" by Messrs Miller and Skertchley, p. 497. (Leach and Son, Wisbech, 1878.)

times twice a year to accompany the Commissioners, who now have charge of the River Ouse from Denver Sluice to the Eau Brink Cut, on views of their dredging operations in that river, and have on those occasions when hastily passing the spot where the Canoe was found, noticed a "snag" projecting from the steep shore about 5 feet into the water-way; and on asking the boatman what it was, was told it was either a bit of an old Fen oak, or a bit of an old "But" (the local pronunciation of boat). They said it had been there several years, and inasmuch as lighters and other craft often knocked against it, it ought to be removed. I thought therefore I would take an opportunity some day to examine it at leisure and see what it really was, so, choosing a day on which the tide served, on the 10th of August last, I went down from Ely to Stow Bridge, and having chartered a boat and engaged the services of two men with spades, I proceeded to the place where the "snag" was. The water was running down sharp, it being near the time of low water. The stratum of peat, or "moor bed," was fully exposed, and so was the warp above, and the soft "Buttery Clay" beneath. The black horizontal bed of peat which presented a sheer perpendicular face to the river was found to be exactly 4 feet in thickness, very dense, very black on being cut into, and contained in its lower portion roots and stools of trees *in situ*. Projecting from just above the middle of the moor bed was the "snag" I had so frequently noticed before in passing. It projected exactly 5 feet from the steep face of the moor bed into the water way, and was dotted over with green foliaceous specks and bits of some alga, and from its battered appearance might well be taken for a piece of the shell of a decayed tree, or rather a shapeless portion of a boat of some kind. Having recorded the level of the water and the position, with reference to the Fen zero point on Free Bridge, Lynn, of the upper and lower edges of the moor bed (which I found to be 6 feet 6, and 2 feet 6 above datum,

respectively), I noticed the position of the fragment was as nearly as may be in the middle, if anything it was a little above the middle, of the moor bed. The accompanying diagram, No. 1, represents a rough section of the bank and river.

Fig. 1.

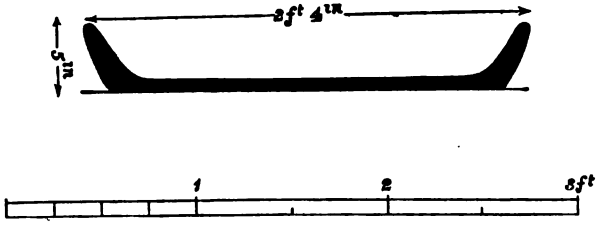


The upper surface of the moor bed had been swept clear of the overlying warp by the action of the water, as appears in the section.

I then proceeded to excavate the peat from above the "snag" and had soon laid bare another 5 feet of what I may now safely call a Canoe, because the figure or outline of the newly uncovered portion clearly shewed that it could be nothing else than a boat of some kind, inasmuch as its sides stood up boldly from the floor, and its interior shewed that it had been carefully shaped into a gentle curve from side to side. I could not, at this stage of my examination, ascertain whether the bottom of the boat was rounded or flat, but afterwards I found the bottom to be absolutely flat. The width of the Canoe from outside to outside was about 2 feet 4 in. It was a very shallow

Canoe with the sides curved on the inside, but straight on the outside, and was probably not more than 6 inches deep. It had been cut out of a single oak tree. Diagram No. 2 represents a section of the Canoe across its middle at the widest part.

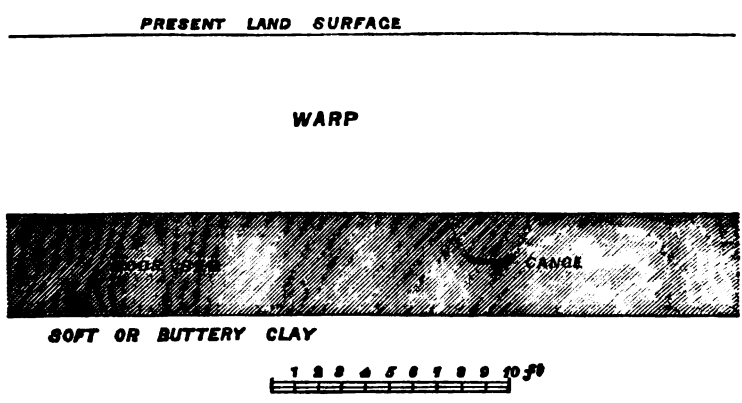
Fig. 2.



It lay upon its bottom and, when the blocks of hard peat were cut out by the spade and disclosed the inside face of the Canoe, it was covered with a thin compressed layer composed of the roots of water plants (somewhat resembling a bast mat of coarse texture), which could be pulled off in large flakes. No implements or remains of any kind were found in or outside the boat. Having thus satisfied myself as to what it really was, and finding it still penetrating the bank of the river, the tide moreover no longer serving, I left it with directions to the men to take an early opportunity of removing it bodily if they could.

Thus far and no farther can I speak from personal knowledge except this. Seeing the Canoe was neither *on* the peat nor at the bottom of the peat bed, but actually imbedded in it, with nearly an equal thickness of peat above and below, I was naturally desirous of coming to some conclusion as to how it might have become imbedded, and as to the period of time at which it found its way there with reference to the age of the peat bed itself. I thought that if it had been sunk at any time when the fen was drowned and the peat bed had been already fully formed, it might have settled down into the soft and yielding peat, and so found its way by mere gravitation into

the middle of the peat bed, but then I thought, if it had done so, one would expect to find in a cross section of the peat taken above the position of the boat, a difference in the character and nature of the deposit over and under the boat. For instance, one might have expected to find the inside of the boat and upper part just above the boat, covered with warp or some other material where shewn in the dotted lines in the following diagram.



But it was not so. There was the moor bed, with its upper and under surfaces parallel to each other, and no difference whatever to be detected in its colour, texture, composition or density. It was, in truth, perfectly homogeneous. This is a fact which I consider of such importance as bearing on the date of the boat as well as the date of the peat, that (it being in my opinion a crucial point) I took great pains in correctly observing it, and may be considered perhaps to have occupied too much time in recording it. I offer no opinion on the subject myself, except that I believe the peat formation of the Fens to be much older than is generally supposed. I mean by this that it began to be formed long before the Roman period, and I think the way in which this boat was imbedded,

in the very middle of the peat stratum, and *that* overlaid with many feet of warp on which stand many ancient towns and villages, goes some way to prove it.

For many years, relying implicitly on a passage in Dugdale, where he describes the great Gravel Causeway, which ran through the Fens from Denver to March, and thence to Whittlesey, and which he described as being covered with 4 feet of peat, I always believed that the peat of the Fens might be post-Roman; but on a careful personal examination of that remarkable work, I have come to the conclusion that it could not have been so covered down with peat, as Dugdale affirms. I found, however, most unmistakeable proofs that that Causeway had been carried over the peat, and that it had been constructed upon boughs and branches of trees, and that there is a very considerable thickness of peat under it at the present day.

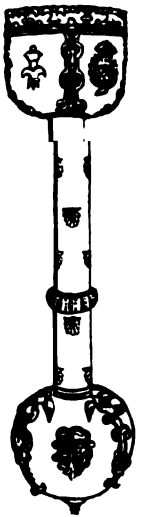
If I am right in my conjecture, does it not afford a remarkable illustration of the importance of verifying the observations of our predecessors wherever we can, and taking nothing for granted (even on such authority as that of Dugdale), which we can verify if we please for ourselves? I confess I am constitutionally sceptical of old stories told of the Fens, because I have in my own personal experience found so many of them to be untrue; but the great authority of Dugdale, who was actually employed in the great work of Fen Drainage at the time of the Commonwealth, and whose reputation as a faithful antiquarian is so great, took me off my guard entirely, and led me for many years to place implicit faith in a statement which I do not now accept, although I am acquainted with one gentleman (who knows the locality well, and whose judgment is of the soundest), who thinks that Dugdale's statement may be reconciled with the present aspect of the Causeway.

But to continue my narrative, a few days after my visit the same men went down to the Canoe again, intending if

possible to remove it bodily from the position it had so lo occupied, and they uncovered a further length of it of 5 fe making 15 feet in all, but it still penetrated the bank of th river further. They therefore cut it off at 15 feet, not darin to pursue it further lest they should be called to account by th public authorities. It is clear however that it went but littl further.

The Canoe, or rather so much of it as was removed, wa soon after sent up to me at Ely by boat, and now lies in my stable-yard; but it is splitting and breaking up, and will soon disappear altogether. This however is of little consequence provided a minute and accurate account of it is preserved for the benefit of those who come after us, and it has given me great pleasure to be the means of putting on record one genuine fact intimately connected with the past history of the Fens, which some future puzzled historian of this interesting portion of England, floundering amongst idle stories, and imperfect and often untrue records; some

> "Forlorn and shipwrecked *Brother*,
> seeing, shall take heart again."



Scale—
2 inches to 1 foot.

Scale—
8 inches to 1 foot.

ELIZ. HUMPHRY, DEL.

THE MACE FORMERLY BORNE BY THE SENIOR ESQUIRE BEDELL.

XVI. On the Maces of the Esquire Bedells, and the Mace formerly borne by the Yeoman Bedell. Communicated by A. P. Humphry, Esq., M.A., Trinity College.

[March 3, 1879.]

Et quia in statutis Universitatis vidimus contineri quod duo bedelli Universitatis intersint virgam deferentes omnibus vesperis, principiis, conventibus, defunctorum exequiis, et omnibus aliis convocationibus, nullo alio in præjudicio eorum virgam delaturo, præcipimus quod bedellus glomeriæ in prædictis convocationibus et locis coram cancellario et magistris virgam non deferat. In aliis autem locis quandocunque et ubicunque voluerit et maxime pro expeditione sui officii virgam libere deferat licenter et quiete.

The above extract from an adjudication[1] made in 1276 by Hugh de Balsham, Bishop of Ely, and founder of our first College, of certain matters in dispute between the Scholars in the University and the Archdeacon of Ely, goes far to fortify us in the belief that the Maces, wands, or staves of office of the Bedells have formed prominent features of the leading public actions of the University from the time of its earliest incorporated existence. What may have been the peculiar functions of the "*bedellus glomeriæ*," and of the "*magister glomeriæ*" to whom he was subordinate, is a vexed question

[1] Given at length in Fuller's *History of the University of Cambridge*, Sec. II. 13.

not necessary to be here dealt with, further than to mention that he has been conjectured to have been the precursor of the now extinct Yeoman Bedell[1], whose Mace is one of the subjects now under consideration.

In ancient times, perhaps indeed in the earliest age of the University, but more probably after special indignation incurred by some unlucky Bedell, the staves, as emblems of the Bedells' office, were annually surrendered to the Senior Proctor[2], to be at once returned to their proper holders if no charge involving suspension from office were then preferred against them. In the Statutes of Edward VI., the Chancellor is more properly named as the official into whose hands the surrender is to be made, and the custom was so maintained until recent times; our present Statutes, confirmed in 1858, being the first which have not contained a provision for its continuance. Another custom of a symbolic surrender of the Maces has been the laying of them down, as the insignia of the dignities and privileges of the University, at the feet of the Sovereign[3] on the rare occasions when the monarch in person has honoured the University with a visit. Our Maces, therefore, embody two very different symbolic meanings.

Only two of the three Maces of the Esquire Bedells are now in use. The third, which is a little shorter than the others and has, as will be seen, certain additional decorations, was formerly borne by the Senior Esquire Bedell, and was last borne by Dr Leapingwell, who died in 1863. The reduction of the number of Esquire Bedells to two, an instalment of the unceremonious utilitarianism which at times hovers even about time-honoured institutions, had been approved

[1] Peacock, *Observations on the Statutes of the Univ. of Cambridge*, Appendix A. xxxv.

[2] *Statuta Antiqua*, no. 71.

[3] For instance, Queen Elizabeth in 1564, and Queen Victoria in 1843. Cooper's *Annals*, Vol. II. p. 189, and Vol. IV. p. 662.

of by the University Commissioners, and was enacted in our Statutes of 1858; consequently Dr Leapingwell's Mace was at his death not handed over to a successor, but was consigned for safe keeping to the Registry, where it remains.

We now proceed to a description of the details and technical structure of the Maces. They are from 4 ft. 4 in. to 4 ft. 5 in. in length, and the diameter of the staff itself is $1\frac{5}{16}$ in. The larger knob, at the upper end of each Mace (which end by the bye is usually seen downmost in the reversed position in which the Maces are borne before the Vice-Chancellor), bears upon its flat top the Royal Arms of the Stuart Kings of England. Round this top is a crown of alternate fleurs-de-lys and Maltese crosses; and in each intervening space between the lower portions of these is a ball upon a point, like the balls and points of the coronet of an English Marquis. The upper, and originally projecting, members of the fleurs-de-lys and Maltese crosses, are all worn down, unless indeed they were barbarously shorn in deference to Roundhead principles. The rounded under side of the knob is divided into four parts by four upright pieces of Renaissance ornament of a kind not unfrequently met with in carved wood as well as plate, consisting of scroll-work arranged about what may be taken for the head and body of a human figure. An instance of such ornament, though attached only at top and bottom to the main structure, may be seen at the upper part of the stem of the Edmonds Cup, of the year 1613 (that is, some thirteen years before the date of our Maces), belonging to the Carpenters' Company; of which Cup an engraving may be seen in Mr Cripps' admirable work on Old English Plate[1]. In the case of the now unused Mace, the four smooth spaces divided off by these ornaments are occupied respectively by the rose, fleur-de-lys, thistle, and a space where the harp has been—each surmounted by a crown. In the other two

[1] Cripps, p. 292.

Maces these spaces are left blank, and it is quite impossible to say whether they ever were similarly filled. The head of the unused Mace has been broken from its attachment to the staff, so that we can take it off and look inside it, and by this means as well as by an inspection of sundry minor fractures of the ornaments, we are able to say distinctly that the ornamental work is not *repoussé*, or pushed out, embossed from the under side, but *appliqué*, or laid on to the flat surface of the main structure after having been separately worked up in the solid piece. The top of the Mace of the Ward of Cheap, made in 1625 (that is, one year before our Maces), is very similar to the tops of our Maces, and in it the crown of fleurs-de-lys and Maltese crosses is shorn down to the same level as in ours, but for an object for which ours were certainly not defaced, namely the addition in 1678 of that domed crown of four bulging bands of metal, so familiar upon Maces up to the present time. Mr Cripps gives an engraving[1] of this Mace as being particularly characteristic of its time, and he observes that Mace-heads of this pattern were not uncommonly made to unscrew from the stem and screw on to suitable feet, so as to serve as drinking-cups, the flat top being also removable and serving as a lid. But our Maces are certainly not so constructed as to be convertible in this manner. Mr Naylor, however, tells us that the heads of the Maces of the Town of Cambridge are made to screw off from the staves and to screw on to the feet of the Maces. They are then serviceable as drinking cups to be passed from hand to hand, but are not capable of standing upright when set down.

The plain surface of the stems of the Maces is relieved by the repeated engraving of the escallops of the donor's arms, and is divided into six compartments by five rings, of which the three nearest to the centre are a good deal larger than

[1] Cripps, p. 335.

the others and bear, on a band encircling their widest part, appropriate mottoes rather rudely engraved in Roman capitals. The moulding of the rings above and below these inscriptions is of a well-known character frequently to be met with on plate of Elizabethan and somewhat later date; and something like it may be seen in Mr Cripps' illustration[1] of the Edmonds Cup before alluded to. The following are the inscribed mottoes:

Mace 1.

Dux erat super eos Jehovah cum eo. 1 Paral. 9. 20.
Factæ sunt ei virgæ solidæ in sceptra regentium. Ezech. 19. 11.
Dux tibi sit semper talis et iste dui (*misengraved for diu*). Mart. L. 12. Ep[t].[2]

Mace 2.

Tolle virgam et congrega populum. Num. 20. 8.
Me duce certus eris. Mart. Lib. 1. Ep. 4.[3]
Virga tua et baculus consolantur me. Psal. 23. 4.

Mace 3.

Portans virgam Dei in manu sua. Exod. 4. 20.
Virtute duce comite fortuna.[4]
Annon ipse baculus manus nostræ. Tobi. 5. 25.

Those of the above inscriptions which are taken from the Bible come no doubt from one of the Latin editions, though so far as the Vulgate is concerned they differ from it too much for them to belong to it; and they hardly seem sufficiently to agree with our Authorised Version to enable us to regard them as simple translations from it.

The lower and spherical knob of each of the Maces carries a little foot, intended to rest upon the ground, and is divided into four quarters by ornaments very similar, with small additions, to those of the upper knob. In these four quarters respectively are placed, in raised work, the arms of the Univer-

[1] Cripps, p. 292.
[2] In modern Editions, Ep. XII. vi. 6.
[3] In modern Editions, Ep. I. ii. 6.
[4] Cicero, Ep. ad Fam. x. iii. § 2.

sity[1], the crest[2] of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, the badge[3] of his office of High Admiral, and lastly his coat of arms[4].

Under the University Arms is engraved the motto "Mars Musas," which for a time served as the motto of the University, and is still to be seen on the University Seal[5], which bears date 1580. Under the Duke of Buckingham's Arms is engraved on the two Maces now in use the words "Fidei *col*vicula crux." The word colvicula has for some years been a standing puzzle; no such word is to be found in any Latin dictionary, and for an instance of a desperate struggle to rise out of the difficulty it is only necessary to turn to the Cambridge Portfolio[6]. As usual, however, it is better not to go too far afield; and on the disused Mace in the Registry the motto may be read, faint no doubt, but plain enough, "Fidei co*ti*cula crux," which a reference to Burke further informs

[1] "Gules sur ung croix d'ermines entre quatre Lions passant d'or ung Livre de gules." From the Patent granted by Robt. Cooke, Clarencieux, 9 June, 1573; now in the University Registry. There is no mention of crest or supporters, both of which are included in a grant of arms to the Town by the same King of Arms two years later. See Cooper's *Annals*, Vol. II. p. 330.

[2] A lion rampant argent, ducally crowned or.

[3] A cabled anchor.

[4] Argent a cross gules charged with five escallops or. The Duke's ancestor, Sir Nicholas de Villiers, having accompanied Edward I. to the Holy Land, is said to have laid aside his ancient arms and to have assumed these. The St George's Cross, it has been suggested, denotes his country, and the escallops, which are the badges of a pilgrim, are a memorial of his expedition. The use of crosses in heraldry is believed to have originated with the Crusaders; and Spenser does not omit thus appropriately to blazon the shield of his Red Cross Knight. *Faery Queene*, Bk. I. c. i. 2.

[5] This seal was presented by Matthew Stokys, the donor of the picture to be noticed later. Grace Book Δ. 133 (*b*). The old seal was melted down, but good impressions of it exist.

[6] p. 528. Quasi *Colvekerlia*, according to Du Cange (Lex. Med. Latinitatis), who quotes the Chronicon Abbatiæ S. Bertini de Rodolpho Guinarum Comite, and adds—"nam eorum vulgare *colve* clavum, et *kerli* rusticum sonat".

us is the Villiers' motto. There is no doubt that the word colvicula upon the other two Maces is nothing but the creation of a misinformed engraver. And the character of the letters of this inscription, as well as of the "Mars Musas," is such as can only have been produced within the last 100 years or so. Most likely this was part of the work paid for in the following bill, which is to be found among the vouchers of the University accounts.

1791	The Univ. of Cambridge to Mr Sproson			
Sep^{r} 23	To Repairing, Beautifying and Silver aded (*sic*) to the three Maces .	£ 18	*s.* 0	*d.* 0
	Rec^{d} the contents of the Rev^{d} Dr Craven Jan^{y} 23. 1792 for Mr. Sproson W. Bell.			

There is another bill of the year 1828, in which £13. 12*s.* 0*d.* is charged by Messrs Rundle and Bridge for repairing, polishing, and silver added to the Maces; but the former would seem more likely to include the inscriptions, probably under the item "Beautifying." There are various entries in the University accounts of small sums of from 2*s.* 9*d.* to 15*s.*, paid in different years for mending the Maces, but these repairs no doubt were casual and unimportant.

Each Mace consists of five hollow pieces, which are built upon a wooden stick and held fast to it with silver screws. And from a description in a MS. book in the Registry, written before the middle of the last century, which says that some of the inscriptions are upside down, it is clear that the pieces were not always very carefully put together. They are all the right way up now.

Our other Mace, that of the Yeoman Bedell, is in general form like the others. The staff is of mahogany and all the central portion of it is exposed, except where two rings of silver encircle it. The collar of each of these two central rings is engraved with the motto "Ditior est qui se,"—hardly a complete sentence, nor do I know where it comes from.

It is not to be found in Burke's list of family mottoes. The knob at the top of the Mace is very like those at the top of the two Maces now borne by the Esquire Bedells; the knob at the bottom is smaller and almost plain, and ends in a pyramidal point. The silver coverings ensheathing the upper and lower portions of the mahogany staff are engraved over with cross crosslets, which also appear upon a coat of arms engraved upon one side of the silver at the upper end of the Mace. Traces of gilding are visible in the more protected sunk portions of the silver work, and from this, as well as from a bill to be noticed later, it is clear that the whole of the silver work was formerly gilded, though a picture in Akerman[1] shews clearly enough that at the beginning of this century the gilding had so worn off that the Mace had the appearance of plain silver.

As regards the dates of the Maces, these like the generality of Maces bear no hall-marks, so we are obliged to investigate their history. Fortunately we know that the Esquire Bedells' Maces were presented by George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham[2], who was elected Chancellor of the University in 1626, and was assassinated by Felton in 1628. The Cambridge Portfolio attributes[3] the presentation of the Maces to the Duke of Buckingham who became Chancellor in 1671; but in this it runs counter not only to all existing records, but also to the evidence of the Maces themselves, which bear the cabled anchor, the badge of the office of High Admiral, which office the former Duke of Buckingham did, and the latter did not, fill.

We have unfortunately very little knowledge of the Maces then supplanted, except that they remained in the possession of the Esquire Bedells at that time holding office;

[1] *History of the University of Cambridge*, Vol. II. p. 315.
[2] Fuller's *History of the University of Cambridge*, Sec. IX. 14.
[3] *Cambridge Portfolio*, p. 245.

their names were Thomas Buck, John Buck, and Francis Hughes. The old Maces were of silver, and therefore it is odd if even one of them has escaped the Civil Wars of Charles I., the mint policy of William III., and the Georgian love of huge silver table services. There is a picture in the Registry, presented by Matthew Stokys, "nuper unus ex armigeris bedellis et hujus almæ Academiæ registrarius," in 1590, which contains, besides tables of weights and measures and the "size" of various trades, representations of two great University processions. Here it would at first sight seem that we have a picture of the Bedells and the Maces of the olden time, but the striking resemblance of these Maces to those now in our possession raises suspicions strong enough to demand a little inquiry into the history of the picture. And sure enough, in the University accounts for 1656, for which year the vouchers, which would probably give further details, are unluckily not extant, we find the following entry :—

Consistory { To Knuckles the Limner for renewing Stokys Table, and the pictures } 007 — 00 — 00

Seven pounds was then a goodly sum, to which Mr Knuckles probably felt he could not do justice without giving a little original work, and perhaps he thought the former artist had painted the Bedells' staves very badly, not in the least like what he might have seen any day by walking out into the street. No doubt Mr Knuckles left the picture a fair piece of evidence of the matters in it as they were in his time—not earlier.

Of the origin of the Yeoman Bedell's Mace there seems to be no definite record, the only clue therefore is furnished by the arms engraved upon it. These consist of the arms of the University partly torn away, and of an Earl's coat[1] and coronet near the upper, and an Earl's crest[2] and coronet near

[1] A chevron between three cross crosslets, a crescent for difference.

[2] On a mount vert a wivern rising, or.

the lower, end of the staff. These correspond with the crest and arms[1] given in Burke as belonging to the Earls of Holland, whose surname was Rich, except that Burke calls the crosses "botonnée," whereas not only are the crosses on the coat of arms on our Mace most distinctly cross crosslets, but the cross crosslets are engraved all over the silver coverings of the staff, just as are the escallops of the Duke of Buckingham's arms upon the Esquire Bedells' maces. An inspection of certain impressions of Lord Holland's seal upon letters preserved in the Registry leaves us where we were, because the crosses are small and not very distinctly to be assigned to either of the two classes. But Guillim[2] writing in 1677 gives the Earl of Holland's crosses as cross crosslets, and as an Earl of Holland succeeded to the Duke of Buckingham as Chancellor in 1628, which office he held till he was beheaded in 1648, we may safely conclude that he followed the liberal example of his predecessor, and was the donor of the Yeoman Bedell's Mace.

As has been noticed, at the top of all the Maces are the Royal arms of our Stuart Kings, and it would have been a great satisfaction if we could have believed that the well-known loyalty of our University had availed to prevent these arms from being tampered with during the predominance of the Commonwealth. In the *Parliamentary History of England*[3] we read that "the day before the Thanksgiving Day, June 6, 1649, a new Mace was brought into the House, ornamented with Flowers instead of a cross on the top; with the Arms of England and Ireland instead of the late King's: this was not only approved of and ordered to be carried before the Speaker for the future, but all other Maces, throughout the Nation, were required to be made according to the same

[1] Gules a chevron between three crosses botonnée or, a crescent for difference.

[2] *Treatise of Honour*, p. 39, fig. 18.

[3] Vol. XIX. p. 129.

Form and Pattern." In pursuance of this Order the Corporation of Cambridge expended in 1650 the large sum of £47. 6*s*. 6*d*. on the alteration of their Maces[1]. And in the University accounts for the year ending 3rd Nov. 1651, there are the following entries:—

It. paid to Mr Blackwell for altering John Holden's staffe, and for carriage of it to London, and recarriage	01 — 00 — 06
It. paid for altering the 3 Esq Bedells staves ex concessione auditorum	08 — 16 — 09

The vouchers for the above are unfortunately missing, though some vouchers of that year are preserved. But there cannot be much doubt that the alteration in question was the substitution of the arms of the Commonwealth for those of the King, especially as an inspection inside the removable head of the Mace in the Registry reveals distinct signs of a circular piece having been cut out, of diameter rather smaller than that of the piece on which the arms now are. Of the subsequent replacement of the Royal Arms on the Mace of John Holden, the Yeoman Bedell, the following bill, which is among the vouchers of the University accounts for 1663, is good evidence:

the old armes w^th^ 1^oz^ 18^pts^ at 5^s^ the oz comes to 9*s* — 6

	£	s	d
the new comes to silver chaseing and Gilding } to	2	— 15	— 6
myne comes to more than the old one 2£ — 6*s*			
the silver of the new w^th^ . .		— 9	— 0
the making		1 — 15	— 0
the Gilding		0 — 11	— 6
Received in full of this Bill	2	— 6	— 0

Samuell Urlin
wittnes John Houlden

It is not uninteresting to note the existence in Cambridge at that date of a silversmith able to execute the work. It would assuredly now be sent to London.

[1] Cooper's *Annals*, Vol. III. p. 431.

Of the re-alteration of the arms on the Esquire Bedells' Maces, no record has come to light. But it would not be easy to believe that when the King came "back to his own again," and the officials of the University went to Whitehall to congratulate him on June 5th, 1660, the Esquire Bedells' Maces could have displayed before the King's eyes the badges of a state of things of which the happy abolition was to him and all present the sole cause of their rejoicing.

Up to the present time the two disused Maces, since they have been allowed standing room in the Registry, have remained in a black uncleaned condition, from an undoubtedly wise desire to preserve them from the rouge and rubbing which have become the greatest modern enemies of old plate. But it would be far better, and the objects are unquestionably worth it, to clean them thoroughly once for all, and keep them in a glass case, in which they would be visible in their proper clean condition. And this we have good hope may yet be done.

XVII. Description of an Old Wooden Tankard. Communicated by Dr G. Mackenzie Bacon, M.A.

[March 3, 1879.]

The tankard, figured in the annexed wood-cut, has recently come into my possession without any history, and I do not know its age, but this is, evidently, considerable.

One-third of the original size.

It is of rude construction, but perhaps much of the interest attached to it may be derived from the nature of the materials of which it is made.

Its diameter at the bottom is 4¼ inches, that at the top 3½, and its height 5½ inches; and its cubic capacity is about 1½ pint.

The body of it is composed of narrow staves of *yew*, and these are bound with three series of hoops made of the younger branches of the yew. The highest series of the three has fallen off. The handle and lid are made of *African* mahogany. The bottom is of *oak* and of more recent date.

The use of metals and of earthenware has long superseded that of wooden vessels for ordinary purposes, and this fact would indicate a distant date for this wooden tankard.

The wood of the yew has now practically ceased to be used in this country, but it is curious to note how much it was employed in olden times. Since the use of the bow ceased the yew was not cultivated for any great practical purpose; but the wood was used long after for axles, for the "bodies of lutes, theorboes, bowls, and wheels," and, as John Evelyn informs us, in his *Silva* (1664)—"*Yea for tankards to drink out of!*"

There is even much earlier testimony to the use of the yew for such purposes, for Pliny (lib. xvi.) says of it, "Vasa etiam viatoria ex eâ vinis in Galliâ facta, mortifera fuisse compertum est." It seems odd that, considering the evil reputation the yew has borne for so many centuries, it should have been used for drinking vessels, but despite the superstitions about it, it may be explained that the poisonous effect is derived from consuming the fresh leaflets, &c., and that in the dried state no harm is experienced.

The wood of which the lid and handle are made is a species of mahogany now out of use in this country. It is from a tree known to botanists as *Khaya Senegalensis*. It is a genus of the Cedrelaceæ and grows along the banks of the Gambia, flourishing in the district enclosed between the rivers Gambia and Senegal. The negroes call it Cail and the

Europeans Cail Cedra. The wood is very dark and dense, bitter in taste, liable to warp, and difficult to work. Hence it has been set aside by cabinet-makers, &c., in favour of the Spanish and American varieties of mahogany, which have been so much more available for the last fifty years.

Wooden tankards are said to be common in the Scandinavian countries, and there is a Danish one in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. In Ireland such things are still preserved, and are known as "methers" (vide *Kilkenny Archæol. Soc.* Vol. III.).

The most celebrated of the historical wooden tankards are those known as the "Dunvegan" and "Glastonbury" Cups, and though my humble vessel cannot compare in interest with such as these it may not be out of place here to refer briefly to these interesting relics.

The "Dunvegan Cup" is an heirloom of the MacLeod family, and is preserved at Dunvegan Castle, in the Isle of Skye. It is referred to by Sir Walter Scott in his introduction to the Lord of the Isles, and also by Dr Wilson in his Prehistoric Annals, in 1815, p. 670, who says, "It is a cup of wood, either yew or alder, such as in Ireland is called a 'Mether,' square above and rounded below, placed on four legs and almost covered with a mounting of silver, decorated with niello and gilding. The whole measures 10½ inches in height, 4¼ in breadth at the mouth, and 5½ at the broadest point, which is somewhat below the middle." The date on the silver rim is 1493, but the cup is supposed to be older, and its date was fixed by Sir W. Scott as 993, in consequence of some inscription which he deciphered to this effect.

The "Glastonbury Cup" is of Oak. It is a "peg" tankard, and had 8 pegs originally, each marking half a pint. King Edgar, an early advocate of Temperance (about 960), is said to have invented these "pegs" as a check on excessive imbibition. The cup is carved with the effigies of the Apostles and

a representation of the Crucifixion, and was lackered inside with some strong varnish to which protection its good preservation is ascribed. It was used as a loving cup at the feasts of the Abbey. When evil times came and the Puritans surrounded the glorious old Abbey, Blanche, Lady Arundell and Wardour, after sustaining a siege of nine days, surrendered in May, 1633, to Sir Ed. Hungerford, and herself removed the famous Cup in safety, and it has since then been preserved by the Lords of Arundell and Wardour to this day. It is ascribed to Saxon times, the 8th or 9th century, and the presence on it of the Saints' emblems would seem to indicate a date not later than the 11th century. It was described by J. Milner (of Winchester) in 1794, and the details with an illustration may be found in Vol. XI. of the *Archæologia*.

In the Catalogue of the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (1876) at page 149 I find a reference to wooden tankards as follows, under the head of Ireland:

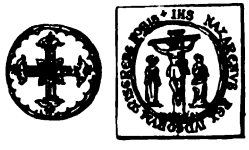
"259—281. The *Bell Collection* of Wooden Vessels, comprising 23 Methers or Drinking vessels of Wood, with handles; two round wooden vessels or tankards with handles; two round wooden vessels with foot and stalk; six large shallow wooden dishes," &c.

There is also an illustration given of a "mether or drinking cup of wood" (J. 259), apparently a very rude vessel, with three handles, and not much unlike that figured in this communication.

In Multis Annis

Sic Semper

Per Atria Cantabo Laudes tum.



Crescetat

XVIII. History of the Peal of Bells belonging to King's College, Cambridge. Communicated by J. W. Clark, M.A., Trinity College.

[March 3, 1879.]

Some documents respecting the sale of King's College Bells, which took place in the middle of the last century, having lately been discovered in the Muniment-Room of King's College, it has occurred to me that it might be worth while to select from the College account-books, which I have lately been searching for a different purpose, the most important items having reference to the Bells and Belfry, so as to present a continuous history of them.

The position of the Belfry is known from Loggan; it is included in his view of the south side of the Chapel, and a ground plan of it is given in his map of Cambridge[1]. If his scale may be trusted, it was about 30 feet square, and stood about 80 feet west of the Chapel, in such a position that if the south side-wall of the latter were produced westward it would touch the south-west angle of the Belfry at a distance of about 150 feet from the western angle of the south porch. This position would bring the Belfry within the limit assigned by Professor Willis to the Churchyard of S. John the Baptist[2]; and I venture to suggest that this supposition explains the prominent situation given to a temporary and most unsightly structure,

[1] It is also shewn in a small cut in a corner of the frontispiece to the edition of Chrysostom published by Sir Henry Savile at Eton in 1613.

[2] See his History of King's, Chapter III.

which otherwise would have been consigned to some remote corner of the College grounds. It will be observed that the Belfry did not stand symmetrically with reference to the Chapel. This position may have been due to the direction of the wall of the churchyard, or of some lane by which it was approached.

There is a tradition that the Bells were presented to the Founder, King Henry the Sixth, by Pope Calixtus III.[1]; and another that they were taken from a Church in France by King Henry the Fifth, after the battle of Agincourt[2]. There is no authority, so far as I know, for either of these stories. The use of Bells, however, at certain services, is expressly enjoined in the statutes for both King's and Eton[3]; and a lofty tower, doubtless intended for a belfry, forms part of the design for each, as set forth in the document called "The Will of King Henry the Sixth." A peal of Bells was therefore almost a necessity for both Colleges, and we shall find that the Founder took care that neither should be long without one. The works at Eton began 3 July, 1441, and in the course of that year a charge occurs for the purchase of 12 elm-trees "pro le clocher," and for various expenses for bringing the Bells from London. This wooden Belfry, which was intended to be only temporary, is believed to have stood within the Churchyard of the Parish Church of Eton. The first stone of the Old Court of King's had been laid shortly before (2 April, 1441), and, though the building-accounts have for the most part disappeared, and the series of account-books, called in this College "Mundum Books," is extremely imperfect previous to 1500, it happens that the one piece of information essential to our present investigation has been preserved. The carriage of the Bells from London, and the roofing of the belfry, are recorded in the

[1] Carter's Cambridge, p. 157; Lysons' Cambridgeshire, p. 110; Cooper's Annals, I. 259.

[2] "General History of the Science and Practice of Music": by Sir John Hawkins, iv. 154.

[3] Compare the 42nd Statute for King's with the 31st for Eton.

following extracts from a fragment of a building-account lately discovered in the Muniment-Room, which certainly belongs to the period of the construction of the Old Court, from the mention of Reginald Ely and Nicholas Close, who are known to have been employed upon it, and from several payments for fetching stone from the Castle, the Hall of which, being in a ruinous state, was assigned to the College by the King, 14 February 1441, for the sake of the materials[1]. This account is partly for wages, which are paid weekly, on July 6, 13, 20, etc., and judging from the corresponding accounts for Eton it may be presumed that these days were Saturdays. On this assumption the year 1443 is the only one which suits, 1437 being too early, and 1450 being too late.

"xiij die Julii. Item for leeddyng of the belfrey and shetyng of ledde to the same, and pro leede nayle empt', etc ..... iij^{s}

xx die Julii. Item Willelmo Hawke pro panno lineo et aliis necessariis in benedictione magne Campane apud London ..... iij^{s} iiij^{d}

xxvii die Julii. Item pro cariagio ij bigat' a blakley mutuat' de priori de Bernewell pur le belfrey, le bigat' ad iiij^{s} ..... viij^{s}

iij die Augusti. Item Roberto Oliuer et Ricardo Eskham pro cariagio magne Campane a London usque Cantebr' ..... xl^{s}

Item Roberto knyth circa le hengyng eiusdem Campane et circa facturam Rote eiusdem per xiiij dies, in die ad viij^{d}, ix^{s} iiijd. Item pro commun' eiusdem apud Cantebr' vna cum Regard' ex precepto magistri J. L.[2] v^{s} x^{d}. Item pro cariagio et recariagio necessariorum eiusdem ij vic' a London ad Cantebr' et econtra qualibet vice iij s iiij d; vj s. viij d. ..... xxj^{s} x^{d}

Item ij Carpentariis circa predict' belhengyng et facturam Rote eiusdem per vj dies quilibet in die ad vj d ob. ..... vj^{s} vj^{d}

Item pro xxxvi li of bellropez et aliis cordulis pro operibus collegii etc. le li ad 1 d ob..... iiij^{s} vj^{d}"

[1] MSS. Baker, xxv. 443. Among the items referring to this are the following:

"xx die Julii.] Item Thome Dich cum ij bigis apud Castellum per iiij dies in die ad iijs; Summa ..... xij^{s}

Item Benett Mores cum biga sua apud Castellum per v dies in die ad xviij^{d}; summa..... ..... vij^{s} vj

Item pro emendacione vie ante portam castelli..... viij d."

[2] These initials no doubt stand for John Langton.

These entries, if not a record of the first construction of the belfry, certainly relate to a very early period of its history, before the roof was leaded, and before the largest bell of the peal had arrived.

Additional confirmation of the view that Bells were given to King's by the Founder is afforded by the following declaration[1] made 2 May, 1465, by William Millington, first Provost of King's. A question had arisen respecting the debts of Dr John Langton, who had been employed by the Founder to transact most of the necessary business concerning the acquisition of the site and the foundation of the College. Millington's object was to shew that the College was not responsible for any of the property conveyed to the Society by Langton; for it was all a free gift of the King. It will be seen that Bells are mentioned more than once among the royal donations.

For asmoche as by the Provost and Scolers of the Kinges College of our Lady and Saynt Nicholas of Cambrigge I William Millyngton Clerke Doctor of Diuinitie haue be praied and required to declare the trouthe, and therto to record and shew the very trouthe, in what condicion Maister John Langton late Bisshopp of Saynt Davyes and by whos auctorite commandement and costes the saide Maister John purveied Bookes Vestementes Belles and other ornamentes to the Kinges College aforesaide;

How be it that I have wryten as hit apperith by my letter wryten at Cambrigge in the Feste of Saynt Brice vnder my seale the very trouthe in the same that from the bygynnyng of y^e^ College and many yerys after that certayn ornamentes and belles war sent vnto the College aforesaide of the pure almous of Kyng Henry first Founder vnto the same College accordyngly to my first wrytyng, I certifie alle men that the saide Maister John Langton was never Rector nether Prouost ther, nether Fellow of the College, for he was Maister of Penbroke Halle longe before the bigynnyng of the saide College and so desesed Maister of the forsaide Penbroke Halle, nether was deputed by me nor by y^e^ Scolers nor made any purvyour for any ornamentes or belles or any other thyng that longed to the College in alle or in any parcelle but that alle thyng that was purveied was oonly at the costes and commaundement of Kyng Henry aforesaide; And so the saide Maister John Langton never had entresse by me nor by y^e^ College for any maner purviaunce to be made in any maner wyse; And therfor the College aforesaide was never charged but oonly to pray for

[1] The original is preserved in the Muniment Room of King's College.

Kyng Henry as ther foundre. And the saide Maister John Langton receyued alle money of the saide Kyng Henry for suche purviaunce to be made.

In witnesse wherof I haue putto my Seale. And if my feblenesse wold suffre me, I wolde cumme by fore the Kyng or his Jugges, and alle men that this matter shalle concerne bothe in Juggement and other wyse, to certifie the trouthe and to recorde as it is aforesaide.

And uppon this my wryting and my Seale many worshipfulle men have putto ther Sealez; as Robert Cope at this tyme Mayre of Cambrigge; John Belton, John Ashwell, Thomas Heyrman, late Mayrez of the same Towne; John Crofte, John Ereliche, Thomas Walter and John Rasour, at this tyme Baylez of Cambrigge aforesaide. And if nede sholde be many other Gentilmen in the Shere, and also in the Town of Cambrigge, to this trouthe by me reported as it is aforesaide wolde putto ther Sealez.

Wryten at Cambrigge the secunde day of May, the yere of the Regne of our souerayn lord Kyng Edward the .iiij^the^ after the conquest of Inglonde the v^the^

The first "Mundum Book[1]" that has been preserved in its entirety—that for the year ending at Michaelmas 28 Henry VI., i.e. Michaelmas 1449—records the following payments for the Bells. It will be observed that these are for ordinary repairs, as though they had been for some time in the possession of the College.

Custus ecclesie

"Item Willelmo Smyth pro le bendes campan' vt patet per billam ..... ij^s^ vij^d^

Item Willelmo Smyth pro reparacione vnius Claper...[then follow other charges] viij^s^ iiij^d^. Item pro vno bauderik ad j^um^ campanam ij^s^. Et pro alio ad 2^um^ campanam xvj^d^ empt' erga festum sancti Johannis Baptiste anno precedent' ..... iij^s^ iiij^d^

Soluciones forinsece

Item in regardis datis ferestar' de Wabrige et pro emendacione campan' vt patet per billam Magistri Wodelark ..... vij^s^"

[1] The following Mundum Books have been preserved for the fifteenth century. They extend from Michaelmas to Michaelmas in each year: 1447—48 (imperfect); 1448—49; 1449—50; 1450—51; 1453—54; 1456—57; 1457—58; 1458—59; 1465—66; 1466—67; 1467—68; 1468—69; 1469—70; 1472—73; 1473—74; 1476—77; 1478—79; 1482—83; 1488—89; 1489—90; 1492—93; 1495—96; 1498—99; 1499—1500.

In the next two years the payments for repairs continue:

Expense necessarie (1449—1450)

"Item Stracy pro certis cordis emptis...pro campanis ..... v^{s} vj^{d} ob.

Soluciones forinsece (1450—1451)

"Item Johanni Dawes pro labore suo per ij dies et dim' circa emendacionem Campanarum erga festum Natalis Domini ..... iij^{s} viij^{d}"

The accounts for the next two years are wanting; in that for 1453—54 the Bells are not mentioned; those for 1454—55, 1455—56 are wanting; those for 1456—57, 1457—58 are somewhat imperfect, and contain nothing of interest; but in that for 1458—59 we find evidence that the Bells had got thoroughly out of repair, from the following entry:

Mundum Book, 1458—59. *Feoda et regarda;*

"Item in Regardo dat' Danyell Fonder [*sic*] de Ciuitate london pro labore suo ad superuidend' campanas Collegii, vt patet per quaternum dicti prepositi ..... vj^{s} viij^{d}"

This is explained by the following extracts from a private account-book of Provost Wodelark[1], part of which extends from 10 June 38 Hen. VI. (1460) to 3 June in the following year. It appears from this that Daniel the Bell-founder[2] is sent for from London on two occasions, 2 March, and 15 April, 1460, to see about repairing them.

"Item sol' ij^{do} die marcii pro expensis Daniell Founder venientis ad Cantebr' pro renouacione Campanarum ..... xiij^{s} iiij^{d}

Item sol' .xv. die Aprilis pro expensis Danyell belmaker venientis ad Cantebr' pro renouacione Campanarum ..... vj^{s} viij^{d}"

The result of this visit was the removal of those that needed repair to London in May. We may conjecture that the repair was not successful, for in June John Canterbury, clerk of the

[1] This account and the next are contained in the second volume of a series lettered "College Accounts." In Woodlark's accounts the sums received from the Duchy of Lancaster, and the payments made on account of the College are mixed up with his private expenses.

[2] He also supplied the College with wine, for the same account records:

"Item sol' Danyel Belfounder v^{to} die Sept' in partem solucionis de cvj^{s} viij^{d} sibi debitis pro j. dolio vini..... liij^{s} iiij^{d}"

works at King's, was sent to London "to inquire about the making of Bells:" and in August a present (*regardum*) was made to the Bell-Founder's servant. This, judging from the next account that has been preserved, probably indicates the conclusion of a bargain with him to supply an entirely new peal. The following are the extracts already referred to.

[3 May 1460]. "M^{l} de xls solutis Thome Diche london .iij^{to} die Maii A^{o} xxxviij^{mo} in parte solucionis maioris summe pro Cariagio .ij. Campanarum a Cantebr' vsque london..... .xl^{li}

[12 May 1460]. "Item sol' Thome Diche et Coke xij^{mo} die maii in plenam solucionem pro cariagio .ij. magnarum campanarum... .xliij^{li} iiij^{d}

[21 June 1460]. "Item sol' Johanni Smythe per manus Caunterbury .xxj. die Junii missi london pro inquisicione de factura Campanarum ..... iij^{li}

[11 Aug. 1460]. "Item in Regardis datis famulo Danyel Belfounder xj die Augusti ..... xij d."

The new Bells were ready by the following December, when a man named Sturgyn was sent to London (6 December) to fetch them. He had been there already twice in the course of the previous month to get wheels and other fittings, as the College was evidently anxious to have them in use by Christmas. The men designated 'Sturgyn' and 'Martyn' in the accounts, are no doubt John Sturgeon and Martin Prentice, subsequently appointed by Edward the Fourth in Letters patent[1] dated 10 July, 1480, to the duty of providing timber for the works of the College.

The following account records the conveyance, at different times during this month, of the old 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, and 5th Bells to London; and the conveyance of the new ones to Cambridge to replace them. The hanging of the new peal was so far complete by 23 December, that Sturgyn was paid for a portion of his work, and the Bells were rung on Christmas-Day 1460, having previously been consecrated by the Bishop of Lincoln's suffragan. The total cost of carriage, hanging, etc.,

[1] Patent, 20 Edward IV., p. 1, m. 22.

exclusive of the price of the Bells themselves, which is not given, was £25. 12*s.* 4*d.* as recorded in the following account, kept separate from the others[1], and headed

"Soluciones Facte pro Antiquis et Nouis Campanis Collegii Regalis.

In primis sol' Sturgyn lond' mense Nouembris pro j ligno curvo	iij^{s} iiij^{d}
Item sol' eidem Sturgyn pro Rotis et aliis expensis necessariis pro dictis Campanis ad .ij. vices	vj^{li} vij^{s} iiij^{d}
Item sol' Martyn Carpentare et Johanni Ferrour missis lond' circa .vj.^{tum} diem decembris pro dictis campanis	xiij^{s} iiij^{d}
Item sol' pro diuersis expensis factis pro dictis Campanis, vna cum expensis Sturgyn, Martyn Carpentare, Johannis Ferrour et aliorum; vt patet per confessionem dicti Johannis Ferrour de diuersis denariis, per dictum Johannem receptis de Chadworth et de Colby	iiij^{li} iiij^{s}
Item sol' xv. die decembris Sharnbroke de Ware cum vj^{s} sibi solutis per Johannem Ferrour pro cariagio antique prime campane a Cantabrigia vsque london	xij^{s}
Item sol' Thome Diche eodem die in partem solucionis maioris summe pro cariagio noue prime campane a london vsque cantabrigiam	xij^{s}
Item sol' Coke eodem die pro cariagio .iij. campane antique vsque london. Et pro cariagio .iij. noue campane vsque Cantabrigiam	xl^{s}
Item sol' xx^{mo} die decembris priori de lewz pro cariagio iiij^{or} noue Campane a london cum iij^{s} iiij^{d} datis in regardis famulis eiusdem prioris	xxvj^{s} viij^{d}
Item in regardis datis famulis Sturgyn pro labore eorundem circa dict' Campan'	ij^{s}
Item sol' Coke pro cariagio v^{or} noue campane a lond'	iiij^{li} xij^{s} iiij^{d}
Item sol' Parker pro cariagio . ij.^{de} noue Campane	xiiij^{s} iiij^{d}
Item sol' Watton . xix^{no} die decembris in partem solucionis de xx^{li} pro cariagio ij^{de} Campane antique vsque london	. vj^{s} viij^{d}
Item in Regardis datis Suffraganeo Episcopi lyncoln pro consecracione nouarum campanarum, cum . iij^{s} . iiij^{d} datis .ij. famulis eiusdem	xxxvj^{s} viij^{d}
Item in Regardis datis Sturgyn pro labore suo in suspencione nouarum campanarum xxiiij die decembris	vj^{s} viij^{d}
Item sol' eodem die Cartere Carpentare existenti ibidem pro suspencione dictarum Campanarum	vj^{s} viij^{d}

[1] It is bound at the end of College Accounts, Vol. 2.

Item in regardis datis pulsatoribus pro pulsacione dict' nouarum campanarum	.xx
Item in regardis eisdem alia vice	.iiij^{s}
Item in Regardis datis Martyn carpentare pro suspencione dictarum campanarum	.vj^{s} viij^{d}
Item sol' Thome Water in die Sancti Stephani et .xv. die Januarii pro suspencione dictarum campanarum	.iij^{s} iiij^{d}
Item in regardis datis pulsatoribus in die Nativitatis Domini	.iiij^{d}
Item sol' Gardyner in die sancti Thome pro suspencione campanarum	.xx^{d}
Item sol' Watton per manus Thome Dekyn in plenam (*sic*) de .xx^{s} pro cariagio .ij^{or} campane	.xiij. iiij^{d}
Summa totalis .xxv^{li} xij^{s} iiij^{d}."	

The information obtained up to this point shews that the first peal of Bells was presented to the College not later than 1443, when the Belfry was finished; and that these Bells were changed for new ones in 1460. We have now to trace the history of this second peal.

At this point there is unfortunately a break of six years in the series of Mundum Books, just where we should wish them to be most complete; and when they begin again, at Michaelmas, 1465, we meet with the following very startling entries:

Mundum Book, 1465—66. *Feoda cum Regardis*

"Item in Regardis datis Bryan Sargent pro consilio suo et materia promovenda pro Campanis etc	xvj^{s} viij^{d}
Item sol' Willelmo Esex de Scaccario Remembrancer domini Regis in Regardis sibi datis pro materiebus diuersis in Scaccario et pro Campanis	xiij s. iiij d
Item sol' Bryan alia vice in Regardis sibi datis pro consilio habendo circa materiam Campanarum	vj^{s} viij^{d}
Item sol' Genney eodem tempore pro consilio	vj^{s} viij^{d}
Item sol' Fairfex, Nele, Bryan, Litylton, Fagger, ad ij. vices pro consiliis suis vna vice vt patet per quaternum M. Lemster in Campanis	xxxvj^{s} viij d
Item sol' alia vice pro materia Campanarum ij^{s} Jurisperitis, scilicet Bryan, Nele, Litilton, Genney, Fairfex, cuilibet eorum vj^{s} viij^{d}	xxxiij^{s} iiij^{d}

Item sol' pixidi Baronum vna cum diuersis solutis pro feodis et Regardis Clericorum et Officiariorum in Scaccario domini Regis vt patet per quaternum M. lemster ..... xxiij^{s} viiij^{d}

Item sol' Bryan in fine Arbitrii pro labore suo circa materiam Campanarum per mandatum magistri prepositi vna cum Regardis datis Clerico eiusdem pro composicione et scriptura Obligacionum pro eadem materia ..... xviij^{s} iiij^{d}

Item in Regardis datis Thome Bettes pro expensis suis venientis ad m. prepositum usque london eodem tempore ... xx^{s}

Expense necessarie

Item sol' Henrico Jurden in festo sancti Nicholai [6 Dec.] in partem solucionis de xl li pro quadam conuencione facta pro Campanis ..... x^{li}

Item sol' Henrico Jurden in partem contentacionis debit' pro le Campanis ij^{o} die Julii ..... x^{li}

The only explanation of these entries that I can offer is that the peal supplied in 1460 had proved a failure, and that the College had been involved in litigation with the maker. The mention of so large a sum as £40 paid in instalments to Henry Jurden "for bells" in December, 1466, implies the making of an entirely new peal; and as his name has not occurred before, we may conclude that Daniel the Bell-founder, who was employed in 1460, was by this time either dead, or in disgrace. The new peal came to Cambridge in 1466, and was ready for use by 15 August, as the following entry shews, from the same Mundum-Book as the last, under the heading *Custus ecclesie.*

"Item sol' cartare pro suspensione Campanarum erga festum assumpcionis beate Marie ..... vj^{d}"

The account for the next year (1466—67) contains no reference to the Bells, from which we may conclude that the final payment to Henry Jurden was that recorded in the previous December. The series now becomes fairly continuous for a few years, and various entries shew that the Bells were in constant use. Of these it will be sufficient to quote the following:

Mundum Book, 1467—68. *Expense necessarie*

"Item sol' Roberto Driffele xviij die Marcii pro reparacione de. le. Bawdereke pro iij^{as} Campana ..... xij^{d}

Ibid. 1468—69. *Custus noui edificii*

"Item sol' Roberto Smyth de Ely in plenam solucionem pro reparacione .le. Clapers Campanarum Collegii..... xx d.

Ibid. 1472—73. *Custus ecclesie*

"Item sol'...pro cordis emptis pro Campanis Collegii pond' .xxxiij. lb. precii libre. j d. q^{t} ..... iij s. iiij d

Custus noui Edificii

"Item sol' pro Sera et Claue pro domo Orilogii in Campanili in vigilia omnium Sanctorum ..... viij d

Expense necessarie

"Item sol' per Robertum Driffeld pro oleo pro campanis ... ij^{s}. ij d"

The following extracts, from the accounts for 1478—79, shew that the second Bell was "changed," which probably means recast, in that year; and that it was hung up in the Belfry again by Christmas, 1478. It is amusing to notice that then, as now, the work of recasting could not be accomplished without the accompaniment of beer.

Mundum Book, 1478—79. *Custus ecclesie*

"Item sol' Thome harrys de london Belfounder in plenam solucionem de x li. ix s. viij d. pro mutacione secunde Campane vj^{ti} ix^{s} viij^{d}. Et pro vno Claper pro eadem Campana pond' .lx. lb. precii libre iij^{d}. xv^{s} ..... vij^{li} iiij^{s} viij^{d}."

Custus noui edificii

"Item sol' Waltero Carpentare et filio Martyn in vigilia Natalis domini laborantibus circa reparacionem stabuli, et circa suspensionem vnius Campane ..... vij^{d} ob.

"Item sol' Arnold Fabro pro diuersis ferriis pro Campanili erga pascha ..... xj^{d}"

Expense necessarie

"Item sol' vni pro suspensione Campane..... ij^{s}

"Item sol' pro vino dat' Thome Harrys de london Belfoundre in adduccione .ij^{or}. Campane ..... v^{d}

"Item in Ceruisia dat' london in fusione secunde Campane... iij^{d}

"Item sol' pro reparacione le Bawderekes Campanarum vt patet per billam...Roberti [Driffeld] ..... xxiij^{d}"

Another bell was recast in 1482—83.

Mundum Book, 1482—83. *Expense necessarie*

"Item sol' xiiij. die maii Johanni Harrison Belfounder pro commutacione vnius Campane fracte pond' xxxiij. lb. vltra pondus, pro ponder' v^{c} vj^{d}. Et pro vno Claper pro eadem campana x d. Et Johanni Parker pro cariagio eiusdem noue Campane a london vj d ..... vj^{s} x^{d}"

This second Bell was broken in 1500[1], and was re-cast by Thomas Church, a metal-worker of Bury S. Edmund's, who, after the manner of those times, did not confine himself to the trade of a Bell-founder, but supplied pots for the kitchen as well:

Mundum Book (1500 –1501). *Custus ecclesie*

"Item xij^{o} die Februarii Sol' thome chyrche de bury in partem Solutionis secunde campane de novo fuse ..... x^{s}

Item xviij^{o} die aprilis Sol' thome chyrche de bury in partem solutionis secunde campane de novo fuse ..... x^{s}

Item xij^{o} die Septembris sol thome chyrche de bury in plenam solutionem secunde campane de novo fuse ..... iiij^{li}

Expense necessarie

Item xv^{o} die septembris sol thome chyrche de bury pro vna olla pro coquina pond' iij quart' of C & v li cum cambio antiqui metalli pond' j quart' of C & vj li, et pro ij ladylls ..... xvj^{s}

Reparaciones

It' iiij^{or} die novembris sol' iiij^{or} carpentariis per iiij^{or} dies v^{s} iiij^{d} et pro le hangyng secunde campane ij^{s} ..... vij^{s} iiij^{d}"

From this time until 1598 I find nothing of importance relating to the Bells[2]. It must however be remembered that the accounts for the reign of Henry VIII. are extremely imperfect, and it is therefore quite possible that important repairs

[1] Mundum Book, Mich. 15 Henry VII.—Mich. 16 Hen. VII. (1499—1500). *Reparaciones.*

[Between 3 Sept and 20 Sept.] "Item carpentariis laborantibus circa descensum campane fracte ij s."

[2] The following extract from the accounts for 1589—90 shews the material of which the 'baldricks' were sometimes made.

Mundum Book, 1589—90, Termino Baptiste

"Item solut' Williamson pro pelle equina ad Campanile ..... vij s

"Item solut' pro opere opificis cuiusdam laborantis per duos dies in conficiend' le balricke ex eadem pelle predicta ..... xx d."

and recastings took place during that period of which no record can now be found. During the early years of the reign of Elizabeth, the Bells are frequently mentioned, but as the entries have reference to unimportant matters, I do not quote them. In 1598 and 1599, considerable repairs to the belfry were executed, and the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Bells were re-cast. The following extracts from the accounts have reference to this work. Some entries for subsequent years are appended to them partly on account of the information they convey, partly for the sake of the words contained in them. The purchase of new ropes to enable the coronation of James I. to be properly celebrated is interesting. The payment for lead in 1605—6, shews that the Belfry had still a leaden roof: and the designation of its upper story as a 'soller' in 1603—4 is a very late employment of that word.

1598. Term. Ann. Item solut' pro a new wheele pro prima campana	xiiij s
Item solut' pro taking Downe and hanging the third bell and for turning the first bell	xxiiij s
Item solut' pro carrying owt and bringing twoe belles	viij s
Item pro taking downe and hanging the second bell and for mending the other Bell wheeles	xxij s
Item solut' Mro Nicholson pro exchaunging the second and third belles, and 168li of over waight of mettell ad 6d le pownd	xvij li x s viij d
1599—1600. Term. Ann. Solut' Magistro Nicholson pro newe casting le fourthe bell	xiij li vj s. viij d
Solut' eidem pro iiij C di' de bell mettall ad 6d le li: vltra xvijs recept. pro an old chaffer	xj li xvs
Solut' in regardo cuidam laboranti in casting le said bel	vs
Solut' quibusdam laborantibus per 10 dies in taking down, setting vp, carying, recarying, and mending diverse things about ye other bells	xxxvs
Solut' Peer et 2 famulis pro opere 3 dierum in altering et mending les bells wheels	ixs
Term: Bapt. Solut' Peer et duobus operariis pro repayring the wheel of the great bell, et pro setting vp the same	ix s

Solut' pro a newe sole pro le first bell wheel	xxj d
Solut' pro one pound di de bell mettal pro le 3: bell	xv d
1601—1602. Term. Mich. Solut' Dowsing pro opere 4 dierum ad 16 d le day pro making a new wheele for the third bell, pro raising up the great Bell, and mending it, and the rest	v^{s} iiij^{d}
Item eidem pro 2 payre of scrues to raise up the greate bell.....	v^{s}
1602—1603. Term. Ann: Solut' pro 86 pond: de ropes pro campanis in coronatione augustissimi Regis.....	xxvj s viij d
Solut' duobus operariis pro opere vnius diei in reparand' le fourth bell: pro 200 screwes, et pro timber ad idem opus	iiij s
1603—4. Term. Ann. Item solut' Peere le carpenter pro mending le belfrey Dore, et making a new Dore pro le bell soller pro opere vnius Diei et Di	xviij d.
1605—6. Item solut' Wharton pro one hundred di et 22 li de leade pro le bell leades	xv s. x d
Item solut' pro 24^{li} de Soder ad 5^{d} le li circa le bell leades	x s
1606—7. Item solut' pro borrowing 2 scruses circa le belfree per 4 dies.....	iiij s
Item solut' pro carrying tymber pro le belfree.....	iij s viij d
Item solut' Atkinson pro tymber circa le belfree et boardes pro camera Doctoris Moundeforde	iiij^{li} xj^{s} xj d.
1610—11. Term. Bapt. Solut' Dowsy pro a new wheel to ye second bell	xvij s
Solut' pro . 15 . new bell ropes weying . 4 . stone et . 12^{l}. ad . 3^{d}. le pound	xvij^{s} viij^{d}

The seventeenth century was a period of peace for the bells. They are mentioned in nearly every year, but only for the purpose of recording small repairs to the "straps," "baldriggs," and clappers. Entries in 1658—59 and 1659—60 for painting the wooden beams with which the belfry was shored up, as shewn in Loggan, perhaps mark the period when these supports were added:

Expense necessarie.

1658—59. Sol' wisdome pro pingendis postibus circa le Steeple.	2. 0. 0.
1659—60. Sol' wisdome pictori pro pingendis suffulcimentis circa Campanile positis	2. 10. 0.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century the Belfry appears to have fallen into decay[1], and the Bells themselves to have become cracked and useless. The question of selling them was first mooted in 1727, three years after the first stone of the "Fellows' Building" had been laid. A legal opinion was taken, as to the power of the College to alienate a piece of property of such value. The College cited the 47th statute "*De bonis et possessionibus collegii non vendendis seu alienandis,*" and the 65th statute "*De visitatione episcopi Lincolniensis per se aut ejus commissarium in dicto collegio facienda,*" and submitted the following case to counsel:

The Provost & Fellows of King's College have 5 large Bells, the 3 biggest are cracked & of no use, & y^e^ other 2 They think they have no occasion for. They would willingly sell them and apply y^e^ money to y^e^ Covering their new Building.

Qu. Can they Justifie doing this of themselves, or are they not obliged by y^e^ above written statutes to apply to y^e^ Lord Bp of Lincoln for his consent either as Visitor as sett forth in y^e^ Statutes, or as ordinary? if they must in w^t^ manner ought they to apply?

The answer returned to them, gave full permission for the sale.

In Common cases of Churches & Parsonage houses, the Buildings cannot be pull'd down, or the Bells dispos'd of, or any material alteration be made without a Faculty from the Ordinary.

But in this case relating to the College, It would not I conceive be consistent w^th^ y^e^ Statutes, to apply to the Bishop of Lincoln as Ordinary for a Faculty, w^ch^ cannot be legally granted without a previous Citation & a Judicial Decree, & is y^e^ proper business of the Bishops court to w^ch^ they are not subjected.

[1] Considerable repairs took place in 1705, as the following extracts shew:

Reparationes.

Term. Nat. 1705.	Sol' Fowle fabro ferrario pro opere apud Campanile	4.	3. 08
	Kettell fabro lignario pro opere apud Campanile hoc et præcedente Termino	25.	16. 06
	Stukes Ærario pro diuersis apud Campanile	01.	06. 03
Term. Annunt. 1706.	Sol' Fowle fabro ferrario pro opere apud Campanile	02.	01. 4

The Bishop as Visitor appears to be restrained by y^e^ Statutes & has no other power than what is Expressly appointed him therein & I find nothing in y^e^ Statutes requiring his Consent in Cases of this nature, nor anything w^ch^ prohibits y^e^ Provost & Fellows, but that they may sell their Bells & apply y^e^ money in the manner here set forth, without y^e^ authority of the Bishop as Visitor It being for the Service of the College & not for their own advantage.

But as the Visitor in his Triennial visitation is the Sole Judge of the Statutes & may Inquire & correct as he pleases without redress, except where y^e^ Statutes have Expressly restrain'd him, I think it will be more Secure & adviseable to acquaint him with it, & not to do it without his approbation.

J. ANDREW.

D^r^ Commons,
15 Mar. 1727.

In consequence it was agreed (April 11, 1727)

"To apply to the Visitor for his Consent to sell the Bells towards Covering the Building."

No action however was taken in consequence of this vote. A similar order was made in 1734, apparently with no better result. It is in the following terms:

"The second Day of January 1734. Att a Congregation held in the parlour, Just before the opening the Common Seal, It was proposed by M^r^ Harding, and Unanimously agreed to by all then present, That the Bells in the Chappleyard be sold for as good a price as can be got for them, reserving thereout so much as will pay for a large Bell new cast, to be placed, if it may be with Convenience, in the south west Tower of the Chappell, or where it may be most conveniently heard in the new Erected Building, The money so to be raised to be applied towards the discharge of the building Debts."

The Bells however still remained unsold. The next step taken was the removal of the Belfry in 1739. It must have been a very ruinous structure by that time, and of no great size, for its destruction occupied only a day and a half; and three more were sufficient to remove the materials and level the ground.

15 Aug. 1739. Agreed that the Bell-house be taken down, and the Bells removed to some convenient place.

1739. *Expense necessarie.*

Laborant' per 1. diem et ½ in diruend' le Bellhouse 0. 1. 9

2^{bus} laborant' per 3: dies in amovend' ruderibus circa le Bell house et humo complanand' 0. 7. 0

The 'convenient place' to which the Bells were removed was the Antechapel, where they lay for the next fifteen years. Dr William Warren, the historian of Trinity Hall, who saw them lying there in 1743[1], mentions that most, if not all, of them were cracked. Carter, whose History was published in 1753, says of them (p. 158):

"The least and two largest are cracked; and I have heard say a large sum has been offered the College for them (the Mettal being accounted much better than common) tho' I can't say (but do believe) the College cannot sell them without leave from the Crown, and I also believe if his Majesty was informed the harm they do by standing there in sinking the Floor, or the little service they are of, he would readily Consent to their being sold, and the Money arising thereby, laid out about the College repairs, or what other use may be thought more proper."

The project of selling them was not, however, revived until 1746, during the Provostship of William George (Provost 1743—1756). The Visitor was then applied to, and gave his consent in the following letter:

Bury, 15 Nov^{r}. 1746.

Dear S^{r}

I do hereby give my full Consent to the disposing of your useless Bells, and throwing the Mony arising from the Sale thereof into a dead Stock for the use of the College, and if there shoud be occasion for my Permission in Form for your further Security you may at any time upon a

[1] Warren, "Collectanea ad Collegium siue Aulam sanctæ Trinitatis in Universitate Cantabrigiensi præcipue spectantia." Appendix, N° 140. "In y^{e} late Provosts (D^{r} Snape's) time, the 5 Great Bells (most, if not all of y^{m} being crack'd) were taken down from their old Decay'd Belfrey, & plac'd in y^{e} AntiChapel, where they continue still (A.D. 1743). I don't know what their weight is, but the Tenor or Largest has been reckon'd to weigh about Seventy Hundred weight: but Phelps the Bell Founder told me, He thought it did not weigh near so much." Cooper (Annals, IV. 203) mentions that in 1728 the Bell-ringer, Henry West, was crushed to death by one of the bells. He quotes MSS. Cole, xii. 75; but does not state whether it was by the fall of the bell or not that the accident took place.

Request of the College specifying the number of Bells, their uselessness, and advantage of applying the produce to the College Stock, have a License in form out of my Office without the least Trouble or Expence.

I am Dear S^{r}
Your very affectionate
Friend and Brother
JOHN LINCOLN.

P.S.
My Wife joyns
with me in our
Compliments to
Mrs George.

Notwithstanding this straightforward decision, the sale was not proceeded with for seven years more. At the beginning of 1753, the following order was made:

7 Feb. 1753. Agreed that the Bells be sold for the best price that can be gotten for the same and the money arising by the sale to be applied towards raising the Dead Stock above mentioned.

This order was followed up, before the close of the next year, by an agreement with a Bellfounder in the following terms:

The 16th Day of November 1754. Be it remembred that the day and year above written It is agreed on By and between John Smith Edward Betham and Thomas Carter three of the Fellows and also Bursars of King's College in the University of Cambridge for and on the part and behalf of the provost and scholars of the said College of the one part and Thomas Lester of St Mary White Chapple London Bellfounder for and on the part and behalf of himself and Thomas Pack of the same place Bellfounder of the other part as follows.

First that they the said Thomas Lester and Tho. Pack shall have take and carry away all those five Bells now being in the Chapple of the said College they paying for the same to the said John Smith Ed. Betham and Thomas Carter or one of them within the said College for the use of the said provost and scholars and their successors after the rate of Four pounds and four shillings for every hundred weight of metall and so in proportion for any Greater or Lesser quantity the same to be weighed and taken away at the Sole Charge and expences of the said Thomas Lester and Thomas Pack.

Secondly the whole money the said Bells shall amount unto at the rate of Four pounds and four shillings for every hundred weight to be paid within two years from the sixteenth day of December next at four even and equall halfyearly payments by the said Tho. Lester and Thomas pack

to the said John Smith, Edward Betham and Tho. Carter or one of them as aforesaid The first payment to be made upon the sixteenth day of June in the year of our Lord 1755.

Thirdly the said Tho. Lester and Tho. Pack are to give such Security for payment of the said moneys as the said Bells shall amount unto, as shall be approved of by the said John Smith Ed. Betham and Thomas Carter and this agreement to stand good and be in force provided the said Tho. Lester and Tho. Pack do give such Security as aforesaid otherwise to be void and of none effect.

Witness our hands the day and year abovesaid.

THO^{s} LESTER. J. SMITH.
Witnesses E. BETHAM.
J^{no} BLAKE. T. CARTER.
witnesses
RICHARD CURTIS.

The dimensions and weights of the bells, with a few notes upon their condition, as here printed, have been preserved. The paper is in the handwriting of Mr Betham, Senior Bursar of the College[1]:

	Diameter.			From shoulder to skirt.			Weight.			
	FT.	IN.	Q.	FT.	IN.	Q.	CWT.	Q.		
Treble.	3	4	2	2	5	0	1200	2	0	Sound cast, not quite a 5th of tin has been often cast.
2^{d}.	3	9	3	2	9	1	1600	0	0	Ditto.
3	4	2	0	3	0	0	2200	0	0	Still lower as to tin, and not so well cast: better metal than y^{e} other two.
4	4	8	2	3	3	1	3200	0	0	Right good metal, and properly allayd: a 5th tin, but not so well cast, never thoroughly milled.
5	5	3	1	3	8	3				Ditto.

[Note appended to the last two.] Worth more than y^{e} other three, but from y^{e} porousness of y^{e} metal there will be greater wast, and perhaps an abatement of metal. Well worth £4 per cw^{t}.

[1] This paper is preserved in King's College Muniment Room.

The following estimate of the weights, which is somewhat different, was arrived at by James Essex, the Builder. It was apparently made during the process of breaking up, and was accepted by the College, and by Messrs Lester and Pack.

"Acc^{t} of the Weight of Kings Coll^{ge} Bells taken Jan^{r} y^{e} 30th and 31st 1755, p^{r} James Essex.

	c.	q.	lbs.		
1st)				11	0	24
	c.	q.	lbs.			
2^{d})	13	3	7	15	2	19
	1	3	12			
3^{d})	12	0	14	21	1	2
	9	0	16			
4th)	13	2	14	32	2	23
	13	2	14			
	5	1	23			
5)	10	0	0	46	2	7
	10	0	0			
	10	0	0			
	8	3	0			
	7	3	7			
				127	1	19

	Tuns	c.	q.	lb.
the wh^{le} =	6	7	1	19.

The value of this metal, deducting a small quantity for the value of the staples, amounted to £533. 10*s*. 3*d*., of which the three first instalments were paid to the College as follows:

	£.	s.	d.
1755, June 16.....	133	7	$6\frac{3}{4}$
— Dec. 27.....	133	7	$6\frac{3}{4}$
1756, June 19.....	133	7	$6\frac{3}{4}$.

For the payment of the fourth instalment Mr Lester asked for a delay until February 1, 1757. It was decided that the money should be invested in the 3 per cent. Bank Annuities[1].

The inscriptions on the Bells are copied from a careful drawing which was found in the Muniment Room with the

[1] 24 November 1756. "Agreed that M^{r} Betham put out in the three per cent. Bank Annuitys for the benefit of the College the Money arising by the Sale of the Bells."

other papers. The legends have been often printed before, but I am enabled to give for the first time the arms, medallions, and other ornaments that accompanied them. The legend of the first Bell may perhaps be an additional confirmation of the connection that I have suggested between the Bells and the Church of S. John Baptist. The letters I. D. are thought by Blomefield[1] (the earliest antiquary who gives these inscriptions) to stand "for John Dogget, who was Provost here in 1500, when it was new run'd." It is quite true that Dogget was Provost in 1500, but we have seen that the second Bell, and not the first, was new-cast in that year. A copy in pencil accompanies the transcript in ink, in which the horizontal bar across the D is not distinct. It is possible therefore that the letters may be J. O. which occur also on the treble Bell at St Botolph's Church, Cambridge[2], and are probably those of the founder who cast it; but what his name was we are unable now to discover. If we could satisfy ourselves that the letter was H and not D, we should have the initials of John Harrison who cast one of the Bells in 1482—3. The second Bell had no inscription. That on the fourth Bell is arranged by Blomefield as a rhyme:

Nomen tuum sanctum per atria cantabo
Laudes tuas Domine Laudibus celebrabo.

I have not yet been able to discover who is meant by the initials F. D.

It should be mentioned in conclusion that in very dry weather the outline of the foundations of the Belfry may still be distinguished on the lawn.

[1] Collectanea Cantabrigiensia, p. 126.

[2] This suggestion is made by M[r] Raven (Church Bells of Cambridgeshire, 8° Lowestoft, 1869, p. 20). I owe my acquaintance with this excellent work to my friend the Rev. G. F. Browne, M.A., late Fellow of S. Catharine's College. The inscriptions are also given by Essex, Add. MSS. Mus. Brit. 6767. fol. 28.

XIX. Notes upon Discoveries made during the recent restoration of Landbeach Church, by the Rev. Bryan Walker, M.A., LL.D., Rector.

[May 26th, 1879.]

The Rev. W. K. Clay, in his *History of Landbeach*, says that the builder of the Church as it now stands was Sir Thomas Chamberlayne, the fifth and last of the Chamberlaynes who were Lords of that one of the two Landbeach Manors, which now belongs to Corpus Christi College. But the architecture of the Church scarcely accords with this statement.

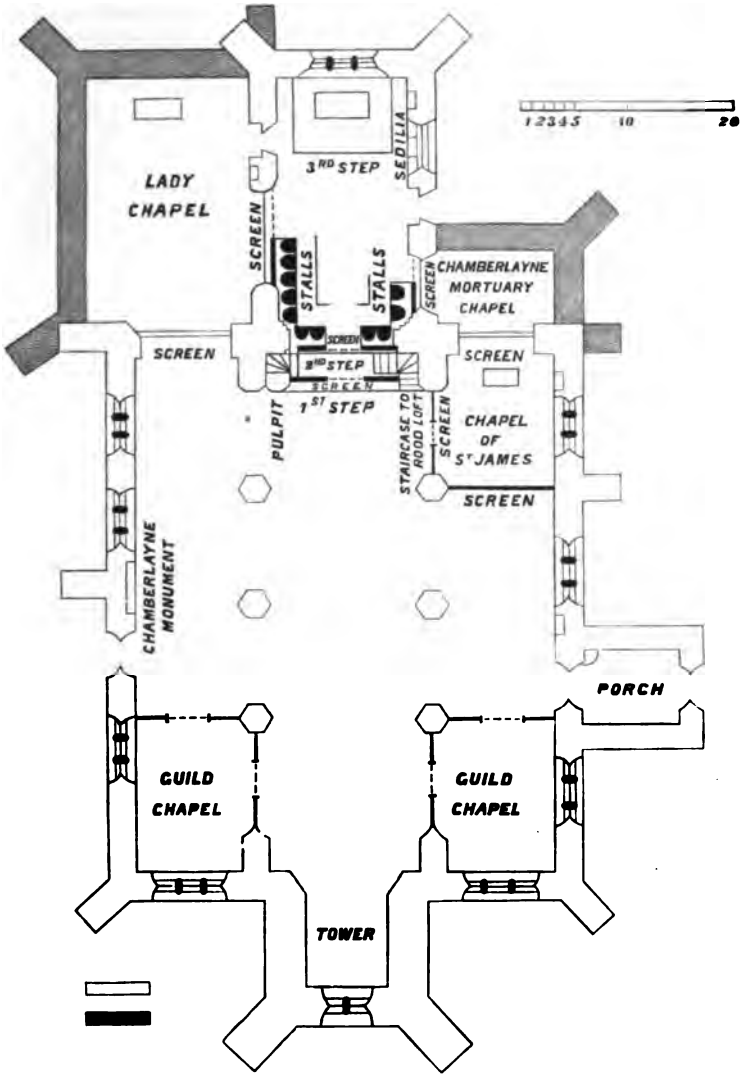
Sir Thomas Chamberlayne became Lord of the Manor in or about 1342, sold all his rights to Corpus Christi College in 1359, and died either in the following year or in 1361.

Now the tower of the church is of earlier date than 1350, and the chancel, which Clay and Masters make coeval with the tower, is probably of 12th century workmanship, and cannot be later than the middle of the 13th century: the nave with its octagonal pillars may most probably be put at about 1400, the clerestory perhaps a little later; and the aisles appear to have been rebuilt, and that on the south widened, about 1450. Hence, no part of the fabric seems contemporaneous with Sir Thomas Chamberlayne, except the tower and some insertions in the chancel, and possibly, but not probably, the arcade of the nave.

The ground-plan on the opposite page will serve to show what we may fairly assume to have been the state of this church about 1450.

The chancel in the *Ecclesiastical Topography of England* is described as "late Decorated, poor:" but in our restoration of last year proofs were brought to light that it is an Early English chancel with insertions of later date. For firstly, two Early English arches were discovered and reopened, leading from the chancel into the lady chapel, and from the latter again into the north aisle of the nave. Secondly, a debased fourteenth century window on the south side of the chancel was found to be inserted in an Early English arch, which it does not fill by a space of about eight inches on either side. The splay at its western end runs beyond the window and stops against the respond of the chancel arch; whilst on the east side of the window, although the splay is now levelled to the face of the wall, we found a respond running all the way up from the floor, and just as far from the east side of the window as the chancel arch is from its west side.

The mistake of supposing the chancel to be Decorated no doubt arose from the fact that there is a Decorated two-light window inserted above the sedilia; and yet close to it is an indubitable Early English priest's door, the counterpart of which has in the restoration been found walled up on the opposite or north side of the chancel, and is now reopened. The east window too had been generally supposed to be a Decorated one, from which the cusps had been removed; but the most careful investigation has failed to discover any proofs of such removal, and the window would rather seem to be an intersection of plain lancets, of the kind figured and described by Rose in his "Three Lectures read before the Northampton Society," and called by him "the second state of Early English, or transition to the Decorated Style." (See plate VII, facing p. 58 in Rose's work.) Hence it should be assigned to the end of the 13th century.



Conjectural Ground-plan of the Church of Landbeach, about A.D. 1450.

As to the date of the tower; we find on its northern face, just under the battlement, the arms of the Guild of Corpus Christi, and not the combination of these arms with those of the Guild of the Virgin which formed the armorial device of the college of Corpus Christi until the Reformation. Hence, the tower would seem to have been completed before the college obtained the patronage of Landbeach, *i.e.* prior to 1359. The spire is later, dating from the end of the 14th or beginning of the 15th century.

With regard to the roof (which is of some celebrity) I have the following notes from Mr George Wood, who, in conjunction with his fellow-architect, Mr E. F. Clarke, has so carefully endeavoured to restore the church exactly to its pristine appearance: "all the curves and framing above the tie-beams, and the tie-beams themselves, may have been, and probably were, in an Early English roof of the nave; as they are much larger than they would have been if constructed *de novo* at the date of the erection in the present form. I think there was at the time the clerestory was added a good substantial oak roof, and that the beams were moulded on their lower edges before being refixed. The principal rafters have plainly been cut short at the purlin, with a view of keeping down the height of the roof, as was needful, of course, if an Early English roof was to be converted into a Perpendicular one. The mouldings of the beams above the purlins are uniformly different from those below."

The roof is one of the great ornaments of the church, and there is strong reason to suppose it was of home manufacture; at any rate carpentry flourished in the village a very few years later, for we have mention in Masters' *History of Corpus Christi College* (App. p. 7), that Nic. Toftys, carpenter of Landbeche, about the year 1450, "entered into an agreement with the cherche revys of St Benedict in Cambridge, for a new roof of their church with ornaments of angels, &c." He would have

a model in his own parish church, for angels of life-size occur in the Landbeach roof between each pair of tie-beams. These once had wings, the mortices for which still remain.

Landbeach, moreover, was famous for carpentry at a far earlier date, for in *Domesday* we find "Duo Carpentarii Regis" holding the manor which now belongs to the Worts' Trustees; and we may perhaps argue that they maintained a considerable number of workmen and dependants, from the fact that they retained in demesne 4 hides and a virgate out of their entire manor of 5 hides.

Amongst the discoveries of importance made in 1878 may be mentioned:

1st. The arches, already named, and a door, leading into the lady chapel, and of Early English style.

2nd. Indications of a chapel on the south side of the chancel.

3rd. A square double piscina in the chancel: Early English.

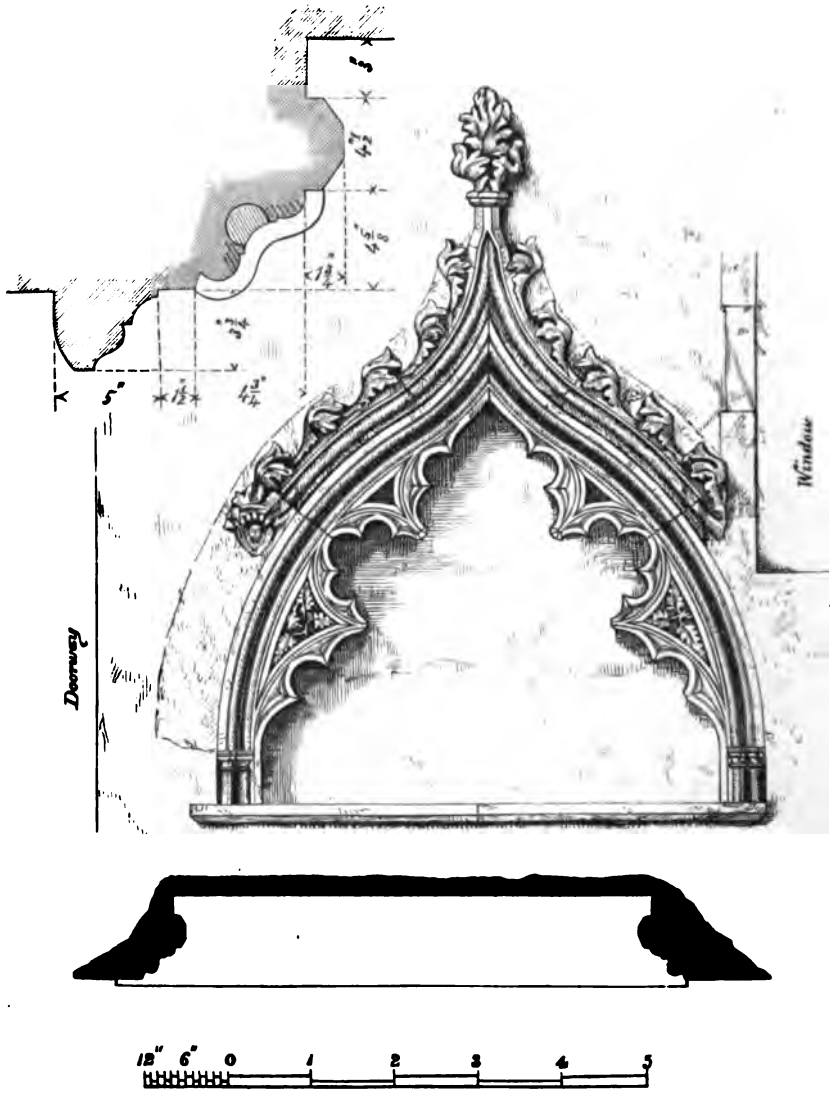
4th. A piscina in the lady chapel: Decorated.

5th. A piscina and credence in a double arch at the east end of the south aisle: Early English, and possibly not in the original position.

6th. A crock in the south aisle, just to the east of the entrance.

7th. A stoup in the porch, very much mutilated: probably 14th century work; formed by building a rough block into the wall, and afterwards working the face of it into shape.

8th. The lower portion of what is called the "Chamberlayne monument," considered by Cole, Masters and Clay to be a fragment; but now uncovered to its full extent, and found to be perfect on one side at any rate. In the *Ecclesiastical and Architectural Topography of England* this is described as Decorated, and, although there seems to be some Perpendicular work in the crockets, the monument may probably be what tradition accounts it, a memorial to Sir Thomas Chamberlayne.



The Chamberlayne Monument.

9th. The back wall of the sedilia: though the seats have disappeared.

10th. A window, blocked up, but now reopened in the east gable of the nave.

On several of these matters no remarks are needed, and the Chamberlayne monument alone is sufficiently meritorious to be figured; but as to the lady chapel it may be noted that the arches were clearly blocked up long before 1616, since a memorial slab, bearing that date, had been let into the wall across the top of one of them; and it is incredible that a workman who knew there was stonework under the plaster would have given himself the trouble of cutting it away, when he could have fixed the tablet with perfect ease a few inches to the right or left. The chapel was standing in 1757, for Cole then sketched it; but he records that Mr Masters, at the time Rector of Landbeach, had already procured a faculty for its removal. We unbared the foundations of this chapel, and found that it was four or five feet wider than the north aisle of the church and of the same length as the chancel.

As to the chapel on the south side of the church, we have record that Henry Chamberlayne, the father of Sir Thomas, the reputed founder of the church, was buried there: at any rate in his will, dated 1345, he says, "lego corpus meum ad sepeliendum in capella *ex parte australi* cancelli parochialis ecclesie de Landbeche."

When this chapel was taken away we cannot say; but it may be that it remained for a while after the Perpendicular nave was built. At any rate the arch that led into it from the chancel is filled with the latest and most paltry Perpendicular window in the edifice; and the Perpendicular window which stands at the east end of the south aisle, though uniform in pattern with the others in the nave, was scarcely so well-finished, and was the only one in the church which had to be reconstructed in 1878, as being in a ruinous state; from which

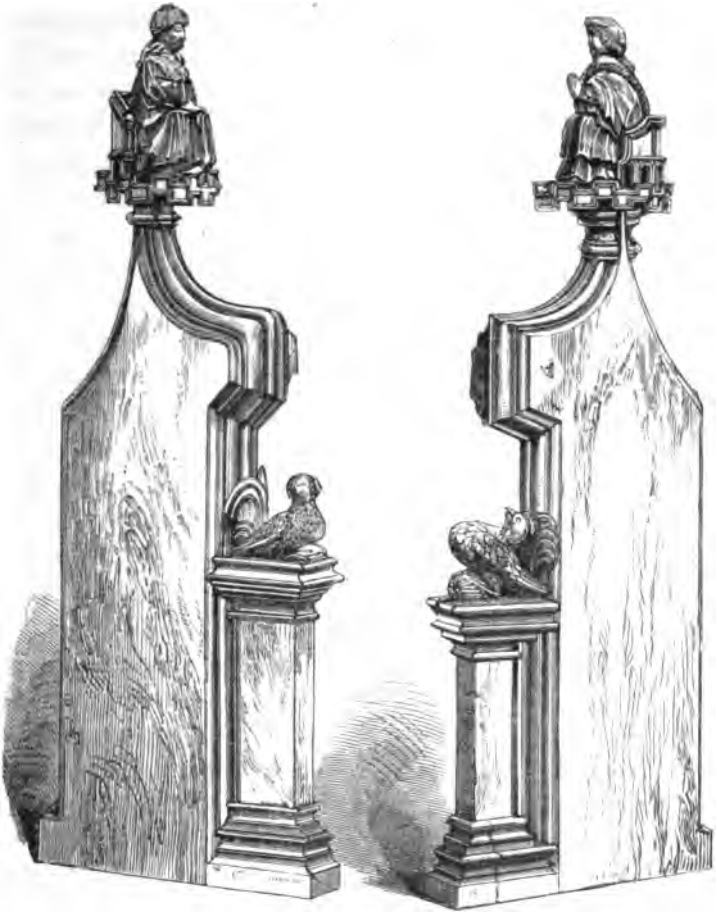
indications we should conclude that the architect, at the time the chapel was removed, filled in one arch with a window in the style of his own period, and failed in his endeavour to copy tastefully the windows in the nave, which he felt bound to match in the pattern of the other window, contiguous to them: besides which, in running up the end wall of the aisle, he built without proper foundations across what had been previously the interior of the church, and so his work, although the most modern, was the first to give way.

This chapel could not have been above 12 feet long, unless we assume that the priest's doorway has been moved westward; an assumption for which there seems no warrant at all.

The sedilia are mentioned by Cole as perfect in his day. "Under the south window," he says, "are some descending steps:" also Masters specifies in his *Collectanea de Landbeche*, "seats of stone for the different orders of officiating priests, one below the other." These seats could not be found in 1878, although, as already stated, the back-wall was discovered, after the removal of the rubbish with which the space had been filled to the level of the wall-face.

The woodwork of the church, screens, tracery, stall-ends, misereres and panels, has been well-known for years; and the opinion has, I believe, been prevalent that the whole of it was bought from Jesus College at the end of the last century. This is not, however, the case: a large proportion seems to be coeval with the Perpendicular portion of the building; another considerable quantity came from Jesus College Chapel; but besides these Mr Masters collected odds and ends from many quarters. In his *Collectanea* we have this note: "in 1787 R. M." (*i.e.* Masters himself) "gave to the church the picture of the Adoration of the Shepherds, said to be by a good hand and very valuable, with the beautiful carved door from Bp Alcock's chapel, wainscot and rails adjoining." The door here mentioned

was in Landbeach Church in 1827, as G. R. Boissier describes it in his *Notes on the Cambridgeshire Churches.* It was given back to the Dean and Chapter of Ely subsequently by Mr



Woodwork from Jesus College.

Addison, Rector from 1821 to 1843, and is now placed at the entrance to the vestry in the south transept of the Cathedral.

The stalls, four in number, standing in the Landbeach chancel, obviously did not come from Jesus College. They seem to have formed, with the screen and pulpit, parts of a single composition. Mr Wood's notes on this subject are: "The original arrangement of the wood-work at the entrance of the chancel we found *in situ:* it was evidently made for the church, and not adapted, (and probably was coeval with the clerestory windows and the roof as readapted). We found, at any rate, the sills of the screen (of which the pulpit formed part) immediately behind the returned stalls, and ascertained that these returned stalls were in position; also, by the sills again, that there had been at least one more stall on the south side and two on the north. The ends of the plates to carry the said stalls had been sawn off, so we could not ascertain the number of stalls originally existing; but on the north side there would be room for four or five, and on the south for two, if a passage was left into the south chapel, which I think would be entered thence rather than from the nave. Probably there was a screen in each of the side arches of the chancel similar to that in the chancel arch. The pulpit was part of the original early screen and built out of it, the bottom of the pulpit being level with the middle rail of the screen. The framing of the pulpit had only plain chamfers at first, and some of the panels from Jesus College were utilized and planted within the chamfers; besides which the outer side of the pulpit was greatly produced in panels ornamented with this tracery; the same tracery was also arranged in an upper tier round the back of the pulpit and chancel respond."

Not only was this done, but the elegant pedestal of the pulpit was boxed in with rough wood-work, in continuation of the planes of the pulpit panels, and the whole (like every other portion of wood-work in the church) coated over and over again with paint, and finally grained in imitation of oak, being itself oaken to begin with.

ARMS OF DE LISLE AND OF ARUNDEL, BISHOPS OF ELY

Scale

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 ½ Inches

The chancel screen was standing in 1757, or a little earlier, for Cole has an entry that Mr Masters about that date "took the screen between the nave and chancel quite away, and removed the pulpit and desk to the south side of the chancel." Boissier in 1827 speaks of an altar screen "covered with panels;" which is only to be explained by supposing he means the west screen in the tower arch, which till last year was filled up with panels, and that he fell into the same mistake as ourselves, of supposing that Masters had moved the screen from east to west.

This, however, we found to be an error, for Masters had evidently sawn off the tracery of the chancel screen, and left the lower part, some three or three and a half feet high, in its position, where we discovered it. Still, the screen which we found in the tower arch can scarcely have been constructed for that position: it was too large for the arch; and a suggestion has been thrown out that possibly there were originally two screens at the entrance of the chancel, some few feet apart, facing eastward and westward respectively, and having above them the roodloft[1]; one of which Mr Masters destroyed, and the other he, or some one before him, removed to the west. In our restoration we decided to bring the west screen to the chancel arch in replacement of the demolished screen.

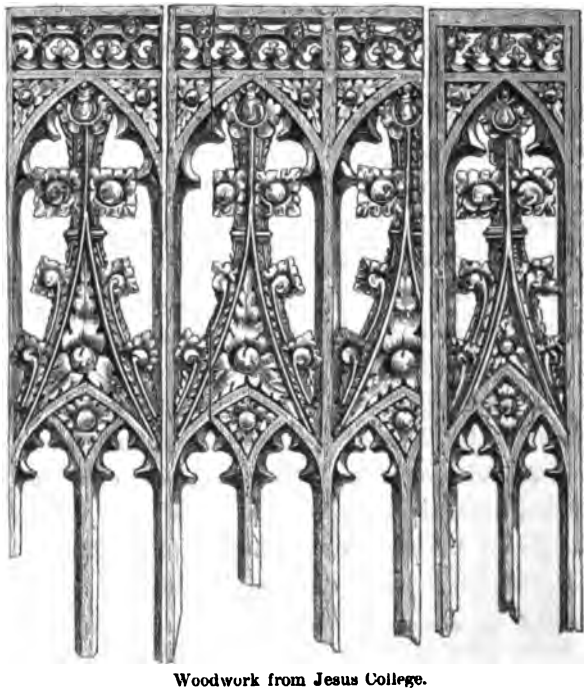
As to the four stalls above mentioned, we may note that two of them have under the seat in place of misereres the arms[2] of l'Isle and of Arundel, bishops of Ely from 1345 to 1361 and from 1374 to 1388, respectively, who, as far as I know, had nothing to do with Jesus College, or the foundations out of which it sprung; though they might naturally enough be benefactors

[1] The roodloft was standing in 1594, for amongst the entries for 1562 in the Parish Register is found this strange note: "Pope, the fox will eate no grapes, and whi, he can not git y^{m}; so at this towne thei loue inglish seruis, because thei can haue none other, as apperith bi the candilbeme and rode lofte, as I think: iudge you by me. Nicolas Nemo., A.D. 1594."

[2] Given on the adjoining page.

of a parish as to part of which they were the superior lords. The arms of Arundel are not quite correctly blazoned, as the bordure ought to be argent, whereas it is left uncoloured. Those of de l'Isle are blazoned correctly, the chevrons sable, but it is clear, now that the black paint is becoming thin through age, that they were at some time blazoned gules instead of sable. (For proof of the connection of Landbeach and the See of Ely see the extracts from *Domesday* and from various Inquisitiones collected by Clay in his *History of Landbeach*, pp. 23, 24.)

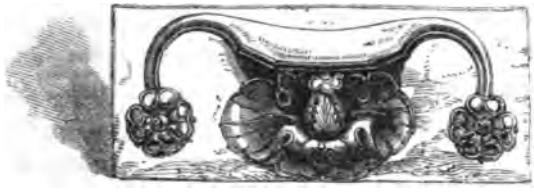
Our smaller screenwork, of which there is a considerable quantity, seems, like the stalls and the west screen (now made the chancel screen), to have belonged to the church from the beginning.



Woodwork from Jesus College.

I submit to your notice drawings of some of the best specimens of the wood-work which indubitably belonged to Jesus

College Chapel, and which we held from 1787 to 1879 (though much of it, including the stall-ends and miserere sketched, was never fixed in position, but stored away in the vestry and elsewhere). This is now going back to Jesus College.



Woodwork from Jesus College.

Before passing from the subject of the wood-work, I may add that the old nave seats were all utilized in our restoration, according to what we believe to have been the original arrangement of the church (save only that the space once occupied by side chapels is now seated, as well as the nave itself). They are ornamented on the back and front of the outer tiers with a vervain pattern in the spandrils, which again does not appear to have any special connection with Jesus College. The western bays of the aisles were screened off till last year (as indicated in the ground-plan herewith), and there is every reason to suppose that we had here the two original chapels of the Guilds of All Hallows and Jesus, which we know, from various wills preserved in the Ely Registry, had their altars in the church, and chaplains to serve them; also that there was in the church a chapel and altar to St James (which again are frequently named in the aforesaid wills); and this chapel, from the existence of a piscina referred to above, we may perhaps place in the E. bay of the S. aisle[1]. We have also record of images of

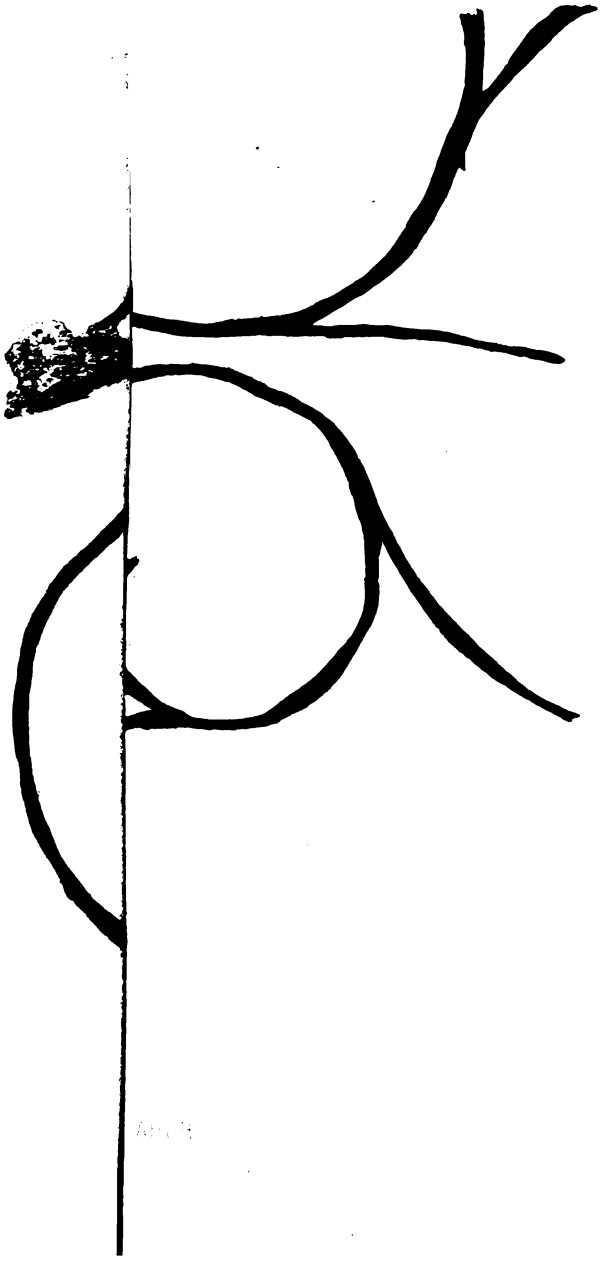
[1] For instance, mention is made of the altar of St James by John Kirby (will proved 23 March, 1520—21), and by Robert Kirby (will dated March, 1520); of the image of St Nicholas, by Thomas Lane (will proved 4 June, 1519); of our Lady at the Chancel Door, by Roger Warde (will

St Nicholas, of our Lady of Pitie, and of our Lady at the Chancel door. A bracket, in the position marked *V* in the plan, still exists, consisting of a headless angel supporting the arms of the See of Ely, and on this no doubt one of these images stood, possibly the one designated our Lady at the Chancel door.

The levels of the chancel floor are restored as originally constructed. The first step was without the screen, about 3 feet in front; not a very common arrangement in a country church, but still to be found elsewhere. As the end of this step was found in position, and the sill of the screen also, there can be no doubt as to what the arrangement was. There was a second step at the chancel arch, and the door from the Lady Chapel to the chancel shows that this level was unaltered throughout the chancel, so that the high altar must have been on a detached platform.

There are many indications that the walls and roof of the church were everywhere painted and gilded. The angels in the roof, and many parts of the roof itself, have patches of colour still adhering. The Early English arches lately re-opened are coloured in squares of red, brown and black. We found by the side of the pulpit, behind the wainscoting, a very perfect piece of tracery painting, of which a facsimile is given on the adjoining plate. This in all probability is as old as the wall on which it was found, and was apparently the pattern used to fill up the spaces between the numerous pictures of saints and groups of figures with which we know the walls to have been covered. Several of these were in existence till 1857, when some old colour-wash was removed preparatory to recolouring; and

proved 19 March, 1528—29); of our Ladie of Pitie, by Ed. Lane (will proved 5 Feb. 1529—30); of the Gilde of All Hallowes, by John Lane (14 March, 1518—19), by Thos. Page (will dated 14 May, 1521), by Thos. Lane, Ed. Lane, and by Robert Kirby; of the Gilde of Jesus, by Alice Lane (1526).



there is a general consensus of testimony amongst the parishioners that there were figures then visible on the walls. For some time I could get no definite particulars, except that over the chancel-arch were two very large angels with outspread wings, till Mr Sadd, of King's Parade, lent me sketches taken by himself at the time when the pictures were temporarily uncovered. I exhibit these as indicating in general the character of the decoration, but my obliging informant, Mr Sadd, disclaims (perhaps unnecessarily) all pretension to be an accurate draughtsman, and therefore I regret that I cannot advise the Society to engrave, and thereby perpetuate them. The group shown was over the north door: the coloured figure was between the sounding-board and the adjacent clerestory window. Where the other was Mr Sadd could not remember. There were more, he tells me, but he copied only those in the best preservation. Their desire to fix the new coating of plaster securely induced the authorities of the day to chip the walls, and thus the frescoes were entirely destroyed.

XX. On the Table of Distances between different Towns given by Holinshed in his description of England. Communicated by the Rev. J. B. Pearson, D.D., Emmanuel College.

[May 26, 1879.]

Many years ago on opening Leland's *Itinerary*, compiled about the year 1540, and published by Hearne at the beginning of the eighteenth century, I was surprised to find the distance from Cambridge to Eltisley, on the borders of Huntingdonshire, given as eight miles, and from there to St Neots as four miles more. Knowing the distance to be at least seventeen miles by a direct turnpike road, I was led to think there must be some force in a proverbial expression I had noticed in an old book, but I cannot recall where, speaking of "an Essex mile" as a very long one. Quite recently however, on looking at a copy of Holinshed[1], I observed that he made the distance from Babraham to Cambridge only four miles instead of six: and this induced me to examine the general table of distances which he gives at the end of the third book of his description of England. It was evident at once that the distances given are much smaller than those which are required by our statute measure; and I therefore determined to present to the Society a comparative table of the distances as given by Holinshed, and those which we find given by Ogilby, our first good authority on the subject, in his *Roads of England* published in 1675. Ogilby himself, though he does not refer to Holinshed, draws particular attention to the great discrepancy between the length of the principal roads as measured by himself with a chain or measuring-wheel,

[1] By Holinshed, I mean the "Description of England," published with the Chronicles generally known under that name. It is clear from the preface that it was to a large extent compiled by the Rev. W. Harrison, of whom an account will be found in the *Edin. Review* for July, 1877; but the true authorship is a question with which I am not concerned.

and what he calls the popular estimation of the same distance: and specifies the road from London to Berwick-on-Tweed as being in reality 337 statute miles instead of 260, as was the popular opinion in his time.

The following table is taken from Holinshed, Ogilby's numbers being placed in an adjoining column: in a few cases I have supplemented distances not to be found in Ogilby's work, from Paterson's *Roads* (1822), or from the one-inch Ordnance map.

	Holinshed.	Ogilby.
From Walsingham to Picknam	12	19
„ Picknam to Brandon Ferry	10	14
„ Brandon Ferry to Newmarket	10	18
„ Newmarket to Babraham	10	12
„ Babraham to Barkway	20	13
„ Barkway to Puckeridge	7	8
„ Puckeridge to Ware	5	6
„ Ware to Waltham	8	9
„ Waltham to London	12	12
Total	94	111
From Berwick to Belford	12	16
„ Belford to Alnwick	12	14
„ Alnwick to Morpeth	12	18
„ Morpeth to Newcastle	12	14
„ Newcastle to Durham	12	14
„ Durham to Darlington	13	19
„ Darlington to Northallerton	14	14
„ Northallerton to Topcliff	7	14
„ Topcliff to York	16	23
„ York to Tadcaster	8	10
„ Tadcaster to Wentbridge	12	17
„ Wentbridge to Doncaster	8	10
„ Doncaster to Tuxford	18	24
„ Tuxford to Newark	10	13
„ Newark to Grantham	10	14
„ Grantham to Stamford	16	22
„ Stamford to Stilton	12	13
„ Stilton to Huntingdon	9	11
„ Huntingdon to Royston	15	19
„ Royston to Ware	12	17
„ Ware to Waltham	8	9
„ Waltham to London	12	12
Tota	260	337

	Holinshed.	Ogilby.
From Carnarvon to Conway	24	22
„ Conway to Denbigh	12	20
„ Denbigh to Flint	12	27
„ Flint to Chester	10	
„ Chester to Nantwich	14	20
„ Nantwich to Stone	15	22
„ Stone to Lichfield	16	22
„ Lichfield to Coleshill	12	15
„ Coleshill to Coventry	8	11
Total	123	159
From Cockermouth to Keswick	6	14
„ Keswick to Grocener [Grasmere?]	8	13
„ Grocener to Kendal	14	16
„ Kendal to Burton	7	12
„ Burton to Lancaster	8	12
„ Lancaster to Preston	20	21
„ Preston to Wigan	14	16
„ Wigan to Warrington	20	13
„ Warrington to Newcastle	20	33
„ Newcastle to Lichfield	20	31
„ Lichfield to Coventry	20	26
„ Coventry to Daventry	14	19
„ Daventry to Towcester	10	13
„ Towcester to Stony Stratford	6	7
„ Stony Stratford to Brickhill	7	9
„ Brickhill to Dunstable	7	9
„ Dunstable to St Albans	10	13
„ St Albans to Barnet	10	10
„ Barnet to London	10	12
Total	231	299
From Coventry	74	92

	Holinshed.	Ogilby.
From Yarmouth to Beccles	8	15
,, Beccles to Blyburgh	7	10
,, Blyburgh to Snapebridge	8	22
,, Snapebridge to Woodbridge	8	
,, Woodbridge to Ipswich	5	7
,, Ipswich to Colchester	12	18
,, Colchester to Eastford (or Kelvedon)	8	10
,, Eastford to Chelmsford	10	12
,, Chelmsford to Brentwood	10	11
,, Brentwood to London	15	18
Total	91	123
From Dover to Canterbury	12	15
,, Canterbury to Sittingbourne	12	15
,, Sittingbourne to Rochester	8	11
,, Rochester to Gravesend	5	7
,, Gravesend to Dartford	6	7
,, Dartford to London	12	15
Total	55	70
From St Buryan to The Mount	20	10
,, The Mount to Truro	12	26
,, Truro to Bodmin	20	22
,, Bodmin to Launceston	20	21
,, Launceston to Dromton	15	19
,, Dromton to Crokehornewell	10	11
,, Crokehornewell to Exeter	10	11
,, Exeter to Honiton	12	16
,, Honiton to Chard	10	13
,, Chard to Crewkerne	7	9
,, Crewkerne to Sherborne	10	15
,, Sherborne to Shaftesbury	10	15
,, Shaftesbury to Salisbury	18	19
,, Salisbury to Andover	15	18
,, Andover to Basingstoke	18	18
,, Basingstoke to Hartford	8	10
,, Hartford to Bagshot	8	9
,, Bagshot to Staines	8	10
,, Staines to London	15	19
Total	246	291

	Holinshed.	Ogilby.
From Bristol to Marshfield	10	12
,, Marshfield to Chippenham	10	9
,, Chippenham to Marlborough	15	18
,, Marlborough to Hungerford	8	10
,, Hungerford to Newbury	7	9
,, Newbury to Reading	15	17
,, Reading to Maidenhead	10	12
,, Maidenhead to Colnbrook	7	9
,, Colnbrook to London	15	19
Total	97	115
From Dover to Canterbury	12	15
,, Canterbury to Rochester	20	26
,, Rochester to Gravesend	5	7
,, Gravesend to Horndon	4	6
,, Horndon to Chelmsford	12	16
,, Chelmsford to Dunmow	10	13
,, Dunmow to Thaxted	5	6
,, Thaxted to Radwinter	3	4
,, Radwinter to Linton	5	7
,, Linton to Babrenham (*sic*)	3	4
,, Babrenham to Cambridge	4	6
Total	83	110
From St David's to Axford	20	50
,, Axford to Carmarthen	10	
,, Carmarthen to Newton (Llandeilovawr)	10	15
,, Newton to Lanbury (Llandovery)	10	12
,, Lanbury to Brecknock	16	20
,, Brecknock to Hay	10	15
,, Hay to Hereford	14	19
,, Hereford to Ross	9	13
,, Ross to Glocester	12	15
,, Glocester to Cicester	15	17
,, Cicester to Faringdon	16	19
,, Faringdon to Abingdon	7	15
,, Abingdon to Dorchester	7	5
,, Dorchester to Henley	12	13
,, Henley to Maidenhead	7	8
,, Maidenhead to Colnbrook	7	9
,, Colnbrook to London	15	19
Total	197	264

	Holinshed.	Ogilby.
From Canterbury to London	43	55
„ London to Uxbridge	15	18
„ Uxbridge to Beaconsfield	7	9
„ Beaconsfield to East Wickham	5	6
„ East Wickham to Stocking Church	5	7
„ Stocking Church to Tetsworth	5	6
„ Tetsworth to Whateley	6	5
„ Whateley to Oxford	4	6
Total	90	112
From London to Waltham	12	12
„ Waltham to Hoddesdon	5	6
„ Hoddesdon to Hadham	7	8
„ Hadham to Saffron Walden	12	16
„ Saffron Walden to Cambridge	10	14
Total	46	56
From London to Ware	20	22
„ Ware to Puckeridge	5	7
„ Puckeridge to Barkway	7	8
„ Barkway to Fulmere	6	7
„ Fulmere to Cambridge	6	9
Total	44	53

In Scotland.	Holinshed.	Ogilby.
From Berwick to Chirneside	10	...
„ Chirneside to Coldingham	3	23
„ Coldingham to Pinketon	6	*
„ Pinketon to Dunbar	6	
„ Dunbar to Linton	6	6
„ Linton to Haddington	6	6
„ Haddington to Seaton	4	12
„ Seaton to Musselburgh	8	
„ Musselburgh to Edinburgh	8.	5
Total	57	52
From Edinburgh to Dalkeith	5	6
„ Dalkeith to Lauder	5†	17
„ Lauder to Ursildon (Earlstown)	6	6
„ Ursildon to Dryburgh	5	5
„ Dryburgh to Cariton (Carham)	6	15
„ Cariton to Berwick	14	13
Total	41	62

* See remarks.

† An obvious mistake. (?) 15.

I will make a few observations on Holinshed's table, and then proceed to discuss the question generally.

From the Walsingham road, we see that in old times the usual road from London to Newmarket and West Norfolk went by Barkway through Babraham. The distance of 20 miles however between these two places must I think be a mistake for 10.

Grocener, near Keswick, is Grasmere, or perhaps Ambleside. Holinshed's distances in Lancashire are clearly very incorrect, even on his own scale.

The final stages in the roads to the Laud's End and St David's are evidently wrong: as Axford is clearly Haverfordwest, the last stage but one in each case should have been twice as long as the last, instead of one half as long: probably the figures are transposed by mistake.

The two roads to Berwick from Edinburgh clearly rest on imperfect information. Chirnside is some miles to the left of the road *viâ* Dunbar and Haddington: while that *viâ* Dryburgh Abbey and Lauder is extremely circuitous, and the distance in one case obviously wrong. The distances on the other hand in the first route are nearer the modern English estimate than any other of those given by Holinshed. I have omitted several tables of distances in Scotland given by Holinshed, because I have no modern road-book of Scotland with which to compare them.

Still the question naturally presents itself, How are we to account for the wide difference between the reputed and measured miles which the tables given above exhibit so clearly? Is it to be found in a change of standard at some remote epoch, or in some other cause?

It cannot be deduced from any statement made by Holinshed himself. In the edition of 1577 he gives a sample of a half-foot measure, coinciding with our present standard measure within the tenth of an inch; and after giving the table of length exactly as we have it ourselves, he adds, "for such as travel, five foot measured by the said inch make a pace: and 125 paces do yield a furlong. Eight furlongs or a thousand paces is a mile, and after the geometrical pace are our miles measured: which some notwithstanding do reckon by about 278 turns of a cart-wheel, whose compass is commonly of eighteen feet, and height five foot and a half, as I have been credibly informed by wheelwrights in the city." As our ordinary mile contains 5280 feet, it is clearly greater than his: which consists of 5000 or 5004 feet.

Two probable solutions of the difficulty seem to suggest themselves: it is not pretended that they are thoroughly satisfactory.

One is that the old English mile of the Plantagenet times was longer than the mile as reckoned in London and its immediate neighbourhood. The Editors of Jansson's Atlas (Amsterdam, 1657) say that the Scotch then used German measures, in which there is nothing like our mile: but a Scotch mile is now generally taken as 1978 yards, which may possibly represent the measure as introduced by the English as invaders or settlers in early times. And not only is an Irish mile, which may very well be the mile as introduced under Strongbow and his successors, usually reckoned at 2240 yards, bearing to our own mile the proportion of 14 to 11, but it also seems to be allowed that an Irish perch was seven yards instead of five and a half. Now this is exactly the proportion between the reputed and measured distances from Dover to London: which a glance will show is a very fair sample of the roads generally as given in the table. If this theory is correct, the present Irish mile will represent the old reputed mile as generally estimated in the provinces: while our own mile represents it as estimated by London measure. I have found however no trace of a perch or pole of seven yards in England.

The other solution of the difficulty which seems to me to be defensible is the following: A common measure in old times on the continent was a league[1], of about three miles, the French league of the last century being 2282 toises, or about 4864 yards, nearly two miles six furlongs: and this corresponds to the German *Stünde* of about three miles, which also is not a

[1] The earliest mention of a league or *leuca* is as a Celtic measure of distance by Ammianus Marcellinus, XVI. 12, who says that it was equivalent to a Roman mile and a half. It is possible that A. M. was mistaken in the length of a Celtic league; and that his "mile and a half" must be understood in the same sense as a Scotch "mile and a bittock." The word also occurs in Jerome († 420) and in Isidore († 636).

legal measure. There seem grounds for supposing that the word was used in England in old times as a measure of considerable distances on land as well as at sea, where its use was of course much more common: a sea league being generally recognized as containing three English miles. The corresponding German word already referred to almost assures us that in a league we really have a word taken to mean an hour's walk. On the other hand it is well known that an ordinary man will generally walk nearly four common miles in an hour. If an old English mile therefore be allowed to be one-third of the distance that an average man could travel on foot in an hour, we get very nearly such a mile as Holinshed gives us in his table.

NOTE 1. *On the present English statute mile; and on the smaller measures of length.* The English statute mile was until recent years considered by lawyers to be defined by an act of Parliament, 35 Elizabeth, cap. 7 (1593), which providing that houses should not be built except under certain conditions near the metropolis within a distance of three miles, defines a mile as containing eight furlongs, each furlong forty poles, and each pole sixteen feet and a half. The smaller measures, viz., a pole or perch and under, are given by Rastall (1621) as depending on an ordinance without any date assigned: which runs as follows, and is printed by the Record Commission in their edition (1810) of the Statutes at large among the *Statuta temporis incerti*[1], subjoined as a note to an authentic Statute on the admeasurement of land. "Ordinatum est quod tria grana ordei sicca et rotunda faciunt pollicem: duodecim pollices faciunt pedem: tres pedes faciunt ulnam: quinque ulnæ et dimidia faciunt perticam, et quadraginta perticæ in longitudinem et quatuor in latitudine faciunt unum acram." They say it is so

[1] The *Statuta temporis incerti* are a series of laws to which no reign or year can be assigned: but which were always recognised as Statutes of the Realm. See Reeves, *Hist. of Eng. Law*, cap. XII.

inserted in Ms. Cott. Claud. D. II. fo. 241 b, and in some of the old printed copies. The *Assisa de Ponderibus et Mensuris*, also reputed as one of the *Stat. temp. inc.*, employs thirty-two grains of wheat, not barley, as the weight of the English Penny called the Sterling. *Statutes of the Realm*, fol. ed. 1810, Vol. I. pp. 204, 206. It may be added that it is clear there has been no variation in the smaller measures of length as recognized by the Crown within historical times: as it will be seen from the 5th Report of the Standards Commission, p. 102 (1871), that of the two oldest yard measures now existing, one of 1490, in the reign of Henry VII., contains 35·963 inches; and another of 1588, in the reign of Elizabeth, 35·990 inches, according to the standard in force now and since 1825. Magna Charta (sect. 25) merely prescribes a general uniformity of weights and measures; but on the standard of London: which implies that other standards were in use in England.

NOTE 2. *On the Milestones on the road from Cambridge to London.* By the kindness of the authorities of Trinity Hall, I am able to give the following extracts from one of the College Registers with reference to the milestones on the road to Barkway, which were set up at the expense of the Trust which the College administers for the benefit of the footways and paths near Cambridge.

July 2, 1725. I took two men along with me and with a Chain of 66 feet in Length we measured five miles from the South West Buttress of Great St Marie's Church Steeple in Cambridge towards Barkway Oct. 20, 1725. The first five milestones were set up.

. . . . . .

The fifth, tenth and fifteenth are large stones about six foot high. But on the fifth are these words:

V
MILES TO CAMBRIDGE.
A.D.
MDCCXXV.

The same on the tenth and fifteenth *mutatis mutandis*. (Cost of same and cutting, £2. 12*s*. 0*d*.)

April 25, 1728 (being y^e^ day on which King George y^e^ Second visited our University), the 1st (first) milestone being above 8 foot high was set up in the place of the small one which had been erected in y^e^ year 1725. The sixteenth milestone was set up at Barkway, May 29, 1728, y^e^ anniversary of King Charles y^e^ Second's Birth and Restoration. The first of these cost £5. 8*s*. 0*d*. The other at Barkway (seven foot high), cost £6. 0*s*. 0*d*.

The register also mentions that the first milestone bears the arms of Dr Mowse, the founder of the Trust, as well as those of the College: and that the sixteenth, in the town of Barkway, has on it the arms of Mr Robert Hare, the founder's executor, along with those of the College. It also states that the existing second, third, and fourth milestones were erected in 1729, in place of the small ones set up in 1725; and cost together £8. 18*s*. 0*d*.: the sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth, in 1730, costing together £12. 2*s*. 0*d*.: the eleventh and twelfth in 1731, costing together £12. 0*s*. 0*d*., on account of the increased dimensions of the eleventh milestone, as will be noticed below: and the thirteenth and fourteenth in 1732, costing together £6. 18*s*. 0*d*. As Camden in his *Britannia* mentions the Roman milestones, but does not speak of any such as existing in his time; and as Ogilby also makes no mention of anything of the sort, only speaking of the Standard in Cornhill as the place from which his distances were measured, it seems likely that these Cambridge milestones were some of the first erected in modern times. I believe I have heard it said that the Postmaster General, at the beginning of the last century, was authorized to erect them: but the act of the ninth year of Anne, regulating the Post Office, only directs him to make a formal survey and measurement of roads of which no survey already existed.

Within the last year I have inspected all the milestones on this road. That at Barkway, as well as the first one close to Cambridge, bears two shields, but they are even more defaced than the shields on the Cambridge stone. Beginning from Cambridge as far as and including the eleventh, which stands

where the road to London is crossed by that from Royston to Bourn-bridge and Newmarket, they are all upright, the inscriptions legible, and the dates of erection, where not covered with mould, easily deciphered. The eleventh stone is rather larger than usual, and, as these two roads do not cut one another at right angles, its horizontal section is that of a lozenge, the sides facing the Cambridge to London, and Royston to Newmarket roads, each bearing a hand and an inscription indicating the direction, &c., precisely as described in the Trinity Hall register. The twelfth stone seems to have disappeared. I am sorry to say that the College arms and inscription on the three following milestones have been ruthlessly effaced by the Trustees of the now expired Turnpike road Trust, who substituted iron plates with large figures moulded on them indicating the distance from London, for the original inscriptions marking the number of miles from Cambridge. The size of the sixteenth milestone has fortunately enabled them to set their plate beneath and not in the place of the two shields which it bears.

XXI. On "La Maison Plantin" at Antwerp.

Communicated by J. E. Foster, Esq., M.A., Trinity College.

[May 26, 1879.]

Amongst the objects of antiquarian interest with which the city of Antwerp abounds, the house known by the above title will always hold a very distinguished place.

In it Christopher Plantin established that widely celebrated printing office, the publications of which are known by his name, in the year 1579, and the same premises continued to be the seat of that business till the year 1876, when the then representative of the family sold the house and all its contents to the Municipality, in order that it might serve as the nucleus of a museum for the town. The house at the time of the sale contained all the literary and artistic objects of interest which had been accumulated during its occupancy by the family, and which form a collection believed to be unique of its kind.

Christopher Plantin established himself as a bookseller in Antwerp in the year 1550, and in 1554—5 set up a printing press in connection with his business.

In the year 1579 he purchased the house, which is the subject of this notice, and removed his business to it.

The house stands on the side of the Marché du Vendredi, a square somewhat further from the Cathedral than the Place

Verte, but a short distance only from that. It is built, as most of the large houses of that period were, round an interior court; the printing establishment occupied the buildings on two sides of this, those on the other two sides being the private house.

On entering the court, a visitor from Cambridge is struck with its resemblance to some of the college buildings here, but the scale throughout is smaller. That portion of the private house which forms the right-hand side of the court consists of two stories and an attic, which are raised upon a cloister, and is very much like the buildings of Neville's Court in Trinity College, while the other sides are of brick and of two stories only, and recall the first court of Jesus College, a resemblance the more striking as a magnificent vine covers the whole front of the side opposite to the entrance, whose green leaves form a beautiful foil to the building itself. According to the tradition of the place, this vine was planted by Plantin himself, and is therefore 300 years old.

The walls of the court are decorated with busts of various members of the family and of the celebrated men who were attached to the printing establishment; amongst others is one of Christopher Plantin himself, with his motto, "Labore et Constantia."

It is however to the interior of this fine old house that we must turn for its objects of greatest interest.

The date of the earliest book at present known printed by Plantin is 1555. He rapidly rose to occupy the foremost position as printer at Antwerp, and on undertaking to reprint the Polyglott Bible of Cardinal Ximenes by desire of Philip II., the then King of Spain and of the Netherlands, the title of "Proto-typographer of the Low Countries" was conferred upon him by letters patent, dated the 10th June, 1570.

He died in 1589, when his son Martin became the sole proprietor of the business, and carried it on till his death in 1610, when it was taken up by his widow, daughter, and

son-in-law, Balthasar Moretus, in partnership, and by their descendants till the sale to the Municipality.

The press was therefore founded and carried on during the most stirring times of the revival of classical learning.

Christopher Plantin appears to have had the power of attracting to his service the most competent workers to be obtained. Thus amongst his staff were Corneille van Kiel, or, to use the Latinized name by which he is better known, Kilianus, Theodorus Poellmann, François Raphelengius, who studied at our University, and, greatest of all, Justus Lipsius. Of all these, interesting memorials are preserved in the house, such as manuscripts of works prepared by them for the press, proof-sheets of various works with their corrections, and all the evidences which accumulate of their connection with the press.

Christopher Plantin and his descendants also employed the great artists of the flourishing school of painting at Antwerp to furnish designs for the illustrations to the works issued from their press, and consequently amongst the treasures preserved in the house are a large number of drawings by Rubens, Van Dyck, Bolswaert, Quellin de Vos, and other artists, together with the copper and wooden plates engraved from them and proofs of the engravings.

In the press-room stand the series of printing presses, beginning apparently with those which may have been used by Christopher Plantin himself; and at their side stand the composing tables, on which are placed the type boxes, now covered with glass, containing the various founts of type which were used in the press.

In a room near to this is the Library. When it is stated that for three centuries this family, who corresponded with many of the most important persons of Europe, have destroyed nothing, but have preserved every scrap of paper and book which came into their possession, some idea of the value of the

historical materials here collected may be gained, and the series of letters is unrivalled.

Here are gathered no less than two hundred manuscripts, among which may be noted an Ovid's Metamorphoses, of the thirteenth century, with glosses of the same period; a superb Cicero On Friendship, executed for Jean-sans-Peur, and containing a portrait of the translator on the first leaf; a Priscian (tenth century), with Anglo-Saxon glosses; and a magnificently illuminated Latin Bible, which bears the date 1402; also many that had been carried away from All Souls' College, Oxford, and other places.

In printed books its wealth is very great. A nearly complete series of the works printed at the Plantin press of course forms one of its most remarkable features; but amongst its typographical rarities may be specially noted the following.

A copy of the 36-line Bible, usually supposed to have been printed by Albert Pfister at Bamberg, about 1460, of which only 3 or 4 perfect copies are known.

The "Dictes des philosophes" of Guillaume de Tignonville, printed at Bruges by Colard Mansion about 1476. This is the only copy known to be in Belgium, and not more than five are known altogether.

A unique copy of the Sarum Breviary in 8vo., printed at Louvain by Thierry Martins of Alost, in 1499.

A copy on vellum of Cicero De Officiis, printed at Mainz by Fust and Schoeffer, in 1466.

A copy of the edition of Aesop's Fables, printed at Antwerp by Gerard Leeu in 1486, illustrated with 193 woodcuts.

These are some few of the treasures of the Library, which however has not been half explored, and it may therefore be reasonably hoped that as the knowledge of it increases, valuable additions may be made to the list.

The rooms in the residential part of the house with their furniture, form one of its not least interesting features. They

still retain their beautiful Spanish stamped leather hangings, which formed, in the 16th century, the usual decoration for the walls of the houses of the upper classes in Flanders. Those in the Castle at Bruges, in some of the rooms of the Town-hall at Ghent, and in the Palace of the Duc d'Aremberg at Brussels, will occur to every visitor to Belgium.

Many of the rooms also contain very beautiful specimens of the open fire-places and ornamented chimney-pieces, common in the Low Countries, and of which that at Bruges is pre-eminent for its magnificence; and many of the fire-dogs, which still stand in their original place, are fine specimens of the ironwork of a country which boasts a Quintin Matsys amongst its smiths.

On the walls hang portraits, by the great Netherlandish painters, of members of the family and of the staff of workers whom they assembled round them. Amongst these may be specially named some portraits by Peter Pourbus, Rubens, and Van Dyck, though other less renowned painters are also represented.

Particular attention is also due to the Chinese and Japanese cabinets, which still retain their places, and have on their shelves many specimens of fine oriental china. These are no doubt results of the commercial connection which then existed between the Netherlands and the East, and which afterwards fell more exclusively into the hands of the Dutch. They are surrounded by many pieces of furniture of the 16th and 17th century, and all combine to form a fine example of a wealthy burgher's house of that period.

The Municipality are much to be congratulated upon their far-sighted and public-spirited conduct in investing such a large sum as 1,200,000 francs in the purchase of such a unique example of a 16th century establishment, an example much to be commended to similar bodies in our own country.

The thanks of visitors are justly due to M. Léon de George

also, to whose description, contained in an account of "La Maison Plantin," published at Antwerp in 1876, this notice is very largely indebted. The "Notice sur la Bibliothèque Plantinienne," by M. Ferdinand Vanderhaeghen, has also been consulted.

XXII. On nine Roman signets lately found in the lead-mines at Charterhouse on Mendip. By the Rev. S. S. Lewis, M.A., Corpus Christi College.

[May 26, 1879.]

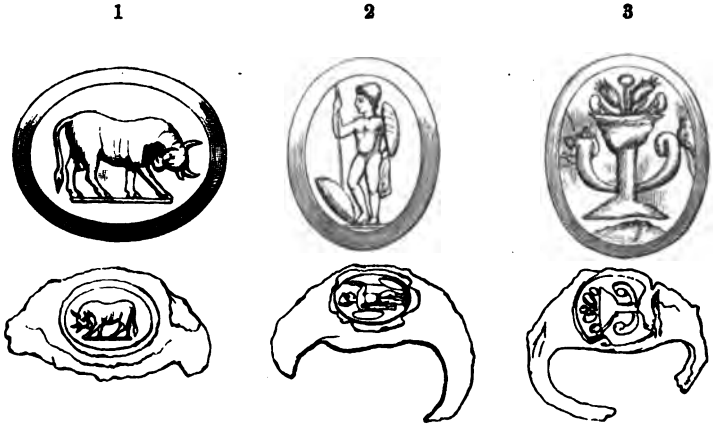
On the bleak table-land of Somerset between the valley of the Avon northwards and that of the Parret which falls to Burnham on the south, the Carthusians of Witham had in the 14th century established a lonely cell. But ages earlier the moorland had been busy with a population of miners, smelters and engineers, all organized and governed by Roman prefects, whose very names we know not, but who have left us a curious legacy which tells many a lesson of art, romance and history. At Bruton, Blagdon and other neighbouring villages there have been found pigs of lead, the earliest of which[1]—found

[1] Quoted by Yates "On the Mining Operations of the Romans," page 16 (*Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archæological Society*, Vol. VIII. 1859). See also the *Journal of the British Archæological Association* for June, 1875, and the Rev. H. M. Scarth in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, Vol. VI. pages 187—191, and Vol. VII. pages 156—161.

at Wookey Hole in the time of Henry VIII.—bears the legend TI · CLAVDIVS · CAESAR · AVG · P · M · TRIB · P · VIII · IMP · XVI · DE BRITANN (thus fixing the date to 49 A.D.), and is now in the British Museum: at Charterhouse are preserved not only the gems which are the subject of the present pages, but also two pigs bearing the legend IMP · VESPASIAN · AVG ·, besides numerous *fibulae*, coins ranging from the Republic to Diocletian, and implements of bronze, lead and iron.

In each one of the nine gems engraved below lies a world of sentiment; but yet they were simply used as signets by a succession of inspectors, who ruled the hardworking serfs[1] centuries before the heather on the opposite hills of Wales had made way for the furnaces of Dowlais and Tredegar.

Of the three that have preserved their original iron settings No. 1 seems to be the earliest in date and the best



in design and execution; the material is sard, burnt white,

[1] "Ibi tributa et metalla et caeterae *servientium* poenae," Tacitus *Agr.* cap. XXXII. 7.

doubtless cremated with its Roman owner. The subject is a Butting Bull (Taurus Cornupeta), and closely recalls the reverse of one of the finest *aurei* struck by Augustus and imitated by the contemporary British king Tasciovanus: thus the gem may be dated to the beginning of the Empire. In No. 2, a Nicolo which retains its original polish, we see a warrior—perhaps the youthful god of war—with helmet, lance, and buckler; his cloak thrown carelessly backward and the enemy's abandoned shield at his feet seem to indicate a complete success, or at least the flight of the adversary. No. 3 is also a nicolo, bearing a very complicated design, which apparently contains wheat-ears and poppy-heads growing out of a basket that rests upon a *cippus*; from each side springs a cornu-copiae; symbols of rural prosperity which help us, by comparison with the sesterce of Nerva (from my own collection) given below, to find a clue to the meaning of this enigmatical gem.

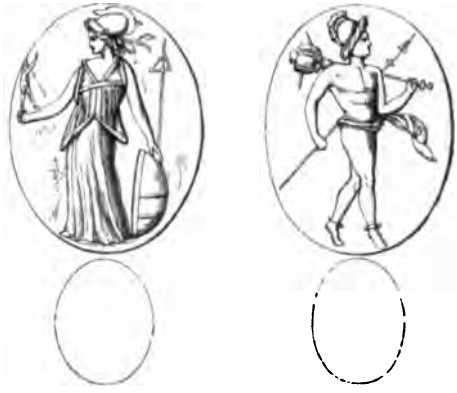
Coin of Nerva.

Obv. Bust of Nerva laureated: IMP • NERVA • CAES • AVG PM • TRP • COS III • P • P. The device and legend (PLEBEI • VRBANAE • FRVMENTO • CONSTITVTO) on the *reverse* commemorate the organization of a regular supply of corn to the populace of Rome, A.D. 97.

On a denarius (A.D. 201) of Septimius Severus the same device is associated with the legend AFRICA.

Of the six that remain two (Nos. 4 and 5) are stones, and the rest pastes; upon No. 4, a dark carnelian, is to be seen the

4 5



goddess *Roma* erect, still wearing her visored helmet, the left hand resting on the round heroic shield; her breastplate has been exchanged for the pacific *stola*; the lance stands at rest by her side; and on her right hand alights a winged Victory. The majesty and perfect repose of the whole composition recall some original in bronze or marble of Pallas Nikephoros, which a Mummius may have brought to Rome from conquered Hellas. The subject is frequently found on the coins of the Seleucidae, and was, we know, a favourite with the Emperor Domitian[1], to whose time the engraving may be referred.

In the Mars Gradivus of No. 5, bearing in his right hand a lance, and in the left a trophy, we see a type of the impetuous god of war, which first appears on an *aureus* of Vitellius, and forms such a frequent and appropriate symbol on the coinage of Postumus and his "tyrannic" successors. The vigorous pace of the "Marching God" is cleverly indicated by the action of his feet: the stone is a dark-red jasper.

[1] Cf. "Pallada praetereo: res agit illa tuas" (Martial IX. iv. 10). So Suetonius upon his institution of the *Quinquatria* (*Domit.* cap. iv), and Dion Cassius LXVII. 1 A.

In No. 6 we come to one of those pastes by means of which

6

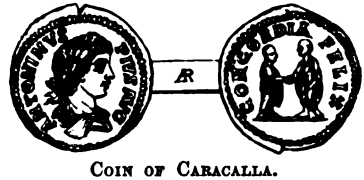
(as with engravings and photographs in our own day) the less wealthy could supply themselves with faithful reproductions of the noblest works of art. The subject is a shepherd seated on a rock, and leaning on his staff as he rests under the shade of an olive tree; doubtless the signet of some Tityrus of the Mendip hills.

The three that follow are all nicolo pastes of but poor style, and still poorer preservation; yet they must not pass wholly unnoticed. No. 7 represents the old old story of

7

plighted youth and maid, and is the regular type of the Roman espousal-ring, as is seen in the elegantly set in-

taglio[1] which was found amongst the jewels of the hapless family of Diomedes in the cellars of his Pompeian villa. It was also a favourite subject on the coinage of Roman Emperors and Empresses of the third century: an example from a denarius of Caracalla (in the British Museum) is given below.



COIN OF CARACALLA.

Obv. Bust of Caracalla laureated and wearing the paludamentum and cuirass: ANTONINVS • PIVS • AVG.

The device and legend (CONCORDIA • FELIX) on the *reverse* indicate the espousals of Caracalla and Plautilla, A. D. 202. An aureus of this emperor bears the legend PROPAGO IMPERI around the same group.

The same device is borne by a nicolo in an antique gold setting, found near Florence, which is now in the exquisite collection of Mr C. D. E. Fortnum, and by a plasma in my own cabinet.

No. 8 presents to us some *rustica Phidyle*[2] offering first-fruits on the altar, while in her left hand she holds a cornu-copiae,

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typical no doubt of the peace and plenty which result from

[1] See the remarks on espousal-rings in King's *Antique Gems and Rings*, vol. I. page 269, note *.

[2] See Horace, *Carm.* III. xxiii. 2.

such an act of devotion. A similar subject, but of much finer execution, is found on a burnt sard in the Leake collection (case 11, no. 26) in the Fitzwilliam Museum. In No. 9 Mercury, messenger of Olympus, is seated[1] on a rock; his right hand holds a *caduceus*, his wand of office, while in the left[2] is the *crumena*, the purse which he bears as god of commerce. Winckelmann, commenting on a similarly engraved amethyst (No. 373) in the Stosch collection, acutely remarks that the pile of rock is in this case doubtless typical of a Promontory, and reminds us of the worship of Mercury as god of navigation also: in this aspect he was adored by the Sicyonians as ΕΡΜΗC ΕΠΑΚΤΙΟC. The addition of the twin serpents to the rod (given him originally by Apollo) marks a later style of art: they are said[3] to have been pacified by him, and thus their appearance on his wand marks him as the Herald of Peace. In this office, as also when he uses his rod as Guide of the passing spirit (ψυχοπομπός), and when he is portrayed bearing a ram on his shoulders (κριοφόρος), his character was most naturally appropriated by the Early Church to represent three several attributes of our Saviour. Indeed in early Greek mythology Hermes was the reliever of distress and the bestower of prosperity[4], even more than the patron of athletics, commerce and speech.

Of Mercury three bronze statuettes have been found near Cambridge within the present century, of which one (from Barton, found in 1872) is in my own collection.

I would here offer my thanks to the Rev. H. M. Scarth, Prebendary of Wells, for much local information, and especially

[1] A rare posture for this active god; but such (M. de Villefosse reminds me) must have been the attitude of the colossal Mercury of the Arverni on the summit of the Puy de Dôme.

[2] This is reversed in the woodcut, which was taken from an impression.

[3] Hyginus II. *Astron.* 7.

[4] Cf. Hom. *Il.* XVI. 185, XXIV. 360; *Odyss.* VIII. 335.

to Mr Rodgers, the manager of the lead-works which have been recently revived, for his kindness in giving me access to these interesting memorials of Roman occupation. Four signet-gems from the same spot were engraved and described in the abstract of this Society's Proceedings for 1877—1878; of these No. 2 has passed into my own cabinet, and Nos. 1, 3 and 4 are in the possession of Mr Collins, of Wrington.

Since these remarks were written, another gem, of which an engraving is subjoined, has been communicated to me by its owner, Mr Waldron of Llandaff, as having been found early in 1876 in the same excavations as the nine that are described above.

It is a red jasper, with the surface slightly impaired by a flake at the upper end; the subject of the intaglio is a goat, erect on his hind legs, doing his worst to an olive tree.

So he is represented on a terra-cotta lamp, from Cumae, in my own collection; and so Virgil[1] and Ovid[2] allude to him as loving to attack the vine.

[1] *Georgica* II. 380. [2] *Fasti* I. 353—358.

XXIII. On the Old Provost's Lodge of King's College, with special reference to the Furniture. Communicated by J. W. Clark, M.A., Trinity College.

[March 17, 1879.]

Ancient College statutes usually made but little distinction between the Head and the rest of the Fellows; he was allowed a single room, or at most two rooms; he dined and supped in the common hall; and his income did not greatly exceed the dividend of a Fellow. It is clear therefore that he was not expected to exercise large hospitality; nor could he live apart in dignified retirement. At King's College, however, it was evidently the intention of the Founder, King Henry the Sixth, to place the Provost on a very different position from that held by the Head elsewhere, as the following passages, selected from the tenth statute, distinctly shew:

Item statuimus ordinamus et volumus quod Præpositus dicti nostri Regalis Collegii qui pro tempore fuerit, seorsim et separatim domum suam teneat infra dictum Regale Collegium in proprio manso sibi et familiae suæ specialiter deputato: quod quidem mansum sic seorsim et separatim sibi fecimus ordinari, ne per ipsius occupationes varias quas circa negotia dicti Regalis Collegii præ cæteris eum oportebit subire ipsius Collegii Regalis Socii et Scholares in his quæ ipsos concernunt, impediantur nimium vel graventur.

Qui quidem Præpositus pro honore dicti Regalis Collegii et commodo conservandis præter et ultra Scholares et Socios aliasque personas superius et inferius nominatas familiam secum habeat condecentem, necessariam,

utilem, et honestam, videlicet ad minus unum generosum, tres valectos, et duos garsones, deservientes eidem debite sicut decet:

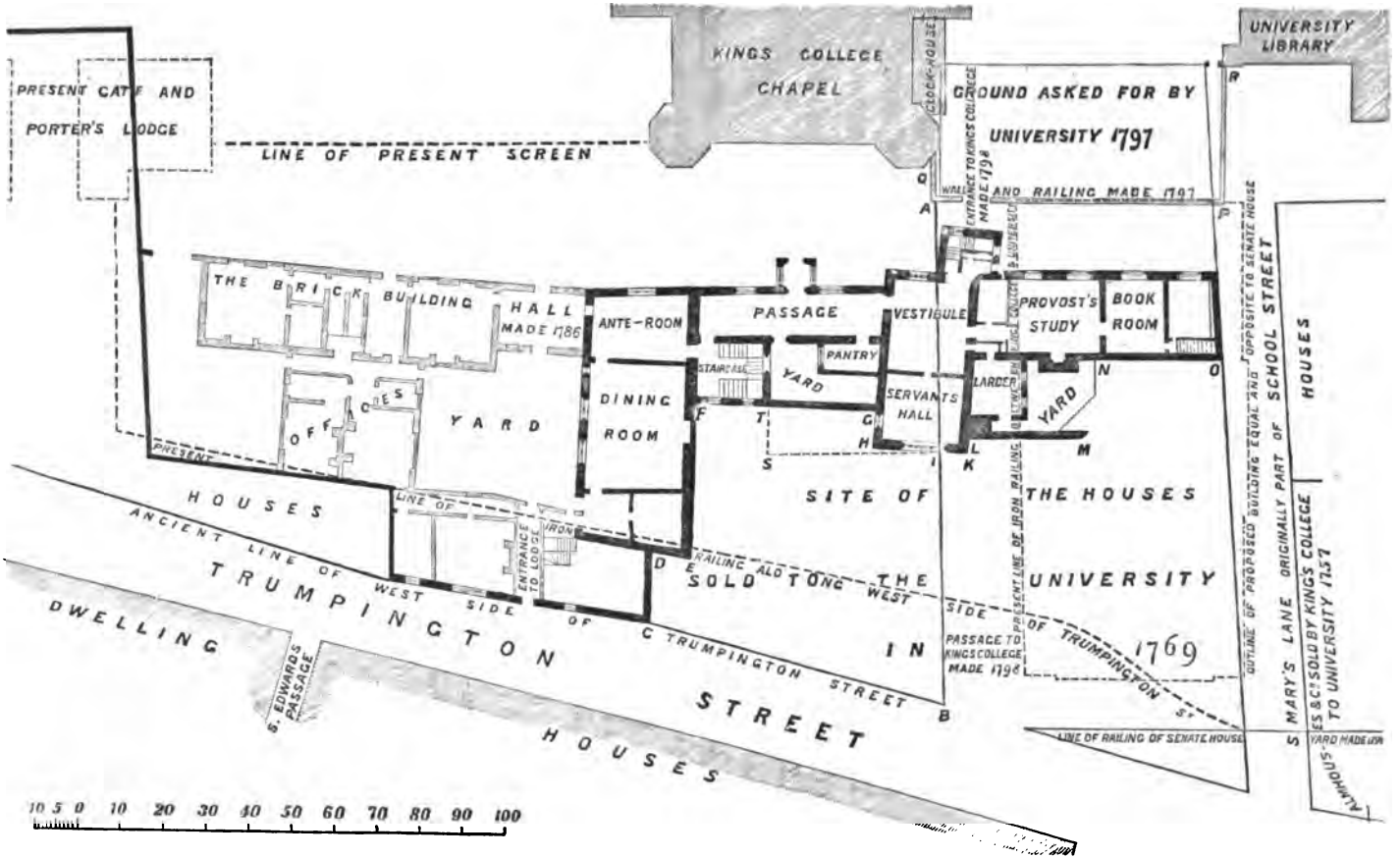
quem etiam pro se ac pro tota familia hujusmodi, tam pro victualibus, lectisterniis, et vestitu, quam etiam pro aliis necessariis et operibus eidem incumbentibus quibus cunque, centum libras sterlingorum[1] ultra liberatam suam annuam panni coloris de secta Sociorum, et liberatas panni pro familia sua prædicta...percipere volumus et etiam ordinamus.

Volentes præterea quod ultra prætaxatam summam idem Præpositus omnia et singula vasa pro aula sua, et utensilia pro coquina, sumptibus et de bonis dicti Regalis Collegii habeat competentia et honesta, non tamen nimis sumptuosa, quibus ad usum suum proprium debite, honeste, ac rationabiliter fruatur; et ea faciat debite conservari; ipsaque præfato Regali Collegio, sive in morte, sive in ipsius recessu, in statu quo tunc erunt sine diminutione aliqua dimittere Præpositus tenebitur supradictus.

Ordinantes insuper quod dictus Præpositus, præter et ultra portiones prædictas, equos habeat competentes pro se ac familia sua, ac Sociis ejusdem Regalis Collegii in ipsius Collegii negotiis laborantibus, dum tamen numerus hujusmodi equorum denarium non excedat: necnon sellas, frœna et harnesia necessaria pro equis eisdem:...quos etiam equos sellas frœna et harnesia prædicta idem Præpositus sive in morte sive in ipsius recessu, in statu quo tunc erunt Collegio Regali supra dicto dimittere teneatur.

[1] The following are the stipends that the Heads were actually receiving in 1546, when the return of the Commissioners was made to Henry the Eighth. The revenues of King's College had been seriously impaired by the policy of Edward the Fourth, but the stipend paid to the Provost is still nearly as large as that of all the others put together. The colleges have been arranged alphabetically for convenience of reference:

Catharine Hall (stipend)	100*s*
Christ's College (stipend)	6*li* 13*s* 4*d*
Clare Hall (stipend)	60*s*
Corpus Christi College (stipend and commons)	6*li* 13*s* 4*d*
Gonville Hall (stipend)	106*s* 8*d*
Jesus College (commons only)	60*s* 8*d*
St John's College (stipend)	12*li*
King's College (stipend)	66*li* 13*s* 4*d*
King's Hall (stipend and livery)	105*s* 8*d*
Magdalene College (stipend and commons)	8*li*
Michael House (stipend and commons)	66*s* 8*d*
Pembroke Hall (stipend)	60*s*
Peterhouse (stipend)	40*s*
Queen's College (stipend)	66*s* 8*d*
Trinity Hall (stipend and livery)	6*li* 13*s* 4*d*



GROUND PLAN OF PROVOST'S LODGE.

Item extraneos supervenientes, quos aliquando ex necessitate, aliquando ex curialitate, pro utilitate, commodo, et honore, Collegii nostri Regalis præfatum Præpositum oportebit invitare, cum ipso Præposito in aula ejus, si præsens fuerit, recipi volumus; et etiam in victualibus de bonis ipsius nostri Regalis Collegii communibus procurari[1].

In obedience to the above direction respecting the care to be taken of the furniture, it was the custom for the Bursars of the College to make an inventory of it at the election of each new Provost. Several of these inventories have been preserved in the College Muniment Room; and there are also a number of entries in the 'Mundum Books' bearing on the same subject. These two sources of information supply interesting illustrations of what was thought necessary for the proper accommodation of a Head in the exceptional position which the Provost of King's College was intended to occupy. Moreover, as the building to which they refer was destroyed when the new buildings were erected (1824—1829), they are the chief authority, and in some cases the only one, for the names and position of the principal rooms.

The Lodge occupied the space between the east end of the Chapel and the street at the time of its destruction, as the accompanying plan shews[2]. This building is unquestionably the same—due allowance having been made for repairs and alterations—as that which existed in the reigns of Henry the Eighth and Elizabeth; and there is great probability of its being the same as that to which our earliest inventory refers, for in 1450 the Prioress of Swaffham Bulbeck gives an acquittance for rent due "for the Provost's Kitchen, which

[1] Commission Documents, ii. 517.

[2] The use of this plan, made by myself from a comparison of various authorities for the illustration of "The Architectural History of the University and Colleges," by Professor Willis, has been most kindly granted to me for this paper by the Syndics of the University Press. The designations and the letters refer to the history of the Lodge subsequent to the present paper, and are fully explained in that work, Vol. I., p. 545—548.

formerly was the bake-house of Thomas Fordham[1]." Fordham's house is known to have stood at the corner of Trumpington Street and a lane called Piron Lane, which, starting from a point opposite to the present S. Edward's Passage, ran in a north-westerly direction across the site of King's College to Milne Street. The house was bought in 1443, two years after the foundation of the College on the old site, and it is therefore possible that it or part of it was at once fitted up for the use of the Provost, for the following extracts shew that so early as 1448—49 he lived in a separate house, large enough to entertain the Provost of Eton, and some distinguished strangers then visiting Cambridge:

Mundum-Book, 1448—49. *Soluciones forinsece.* Item in Jantaculo ordinat' pro Ingilthorp Johanne Say et aliis generosis in camera Prepositi vt patet per billam Alani Seymper . . . . xiiij^{s}. x^{d}. *Expense necessarie.* Item in iij Caponibus et dentriculo emptis erga aduentum Prepositi de Eton in domo Prepositi . . iij^{s}. iiij^{d}. Item in expensis Prepositi de Eton et eius seruientium et aliorum de familia Regis existen' apud Cant' per iiij dies vt patet per Jornale de hospicio prepositi . . . . . xlvij^{s}. ij^{d}. ob.

Ibid. 1449—1450. *Soluciones forinsece.* Item pro quodam Jantaculo in camera prepositi ad Iggylsthorp chayny et ceteris generosis (*sic*) vt patet per billam inde confectam . . . xvij^{s}. xj^{d}. ob.

The first inventory, taken in July, 1452, is as follows. It is considerably damaged by damp, and blanks have therefore been of necessity left in a few places. The date shews that it was taken at the commencement of the Provostship of Robert Wodelarke:

Inventarium omnium bonorum de stauro Collegii in hospicio prepositi et in stabulo Collegii inuentorum tercio die Julii. Anno Domini M. CCCC. lj. et anno regni Regni Regis Henrici sexti post conquestum Anglie Tricesimo. Magistro Roberto Wodelark adtunc preposito Magistro Willelmo Towne Vice preposito et Magistris Ricardo Roche et Johanne Plente Bursariis existentibus videlicet:

[1] King's College Muniments, A. 108.

The Parlour

hanged with reed worsted (late bought) and j banker of (for) the same (old): j cupbord cuvered with old tapstre work: j chere of turned werk: j table with a paire trestles: iij stoles: j firforke of yren broken.

In the Hall

ij tablez with ij paire trestles and ij fourmez.

The chambre ouer the Parlour

hanged with blewe worsted j bed hanged with blewe bokeram and a feble coueryng therto of blewe worsted and j bed renning vpon whelez vnder the other ? grete ? bed etc.

In the Kechyn

j grete pot of bras; j other sumwhat lesse; and an other lesser than the secunde; ij grete ez; ij chafrez with steelez; j litel pot; j potage pot; j cawdron; j litel panne for sethyng of fyssh; j lesser panne; j frieng panne; j morter with a pestel; a pestel of tree; j tray of tree; j grete gridyren; pot; 129 gobards; j crosse jakke; ij jakkes; iij barrez of yren aboue in the chy[mney]; j fyershovyl of yren; j greet brendreth; j lesser brendreth; xxv platers of Pewter; xv dysshez; and xxv saucers of the same and j brede grate etc.

The litel Parlour at the Gate

hanged with reed worsted; j table; j paire trestles; j fourme [words here illegible]; trussyng cofres olde.

The closet chambre

hanged with reed worsted.

The Provost chambre

hanged with reed worsted; an hanged bed of the same with therto; j forme; j joyned stole; j litel foldyng trestel [for] a table standyng by the chymney to fore where the Provost sitteth.

In the Stable

j hors called bayard bussh; j hors called grysell; j hors called sorell for the cloth sak; j hors called grey lyard for the trunke; j grey trotter that was bought on wold; and j hors called sorell snowe Item viij hakney sadell; j old somer sadell; j bridell gilt; and ij peytrell of the same; vij hakney bridell; vij colers of ledre; xxv gerthes and j bridell withoute a reyne.

In the Panetre and Botre

ij basyns ij ewrez v candellstyks of latoun; pipe for brede etc.

This list shews that the house to which it refers,—which is unquestionably the same as that mentioned in 1448—49, was of one story at least, with several rooms in it.

We will next proceed to quote a series of entries from the College account-books having reference to the Lodge. These—which are interesting on general grounds as well as because they prove the particular point on which we are now engaged—are either for repairs or for additions to an existing house. There is no indication of a reconstruction on a new site. The rooms specified are evidently those of the Inventory, with the addition of a private chapel or oratory. An additional proof of the identity of this ancient lodge with part of the building of which we give a ground plan is afforded by the mention in 1500—1501 of the garden near it (*hortus juxta locum suum*); in 1486—87 and 1509—10 of the rooms that abutted on the street; and of the *cameræ choristarum* and the *curia conductorum*. The garden is probably that shewn by Loggan in his ground plan of Cambridge near the north-east corner of the Chapel; and the *curia conductorum* is the small court south of the Lodge, with buildings on two sides of it, called by Loggan *clericorum cubicula*, on the site of which the 'Brick Building' was afterwards erected. In 1480 the Lodge was evidently enlarged by the construction of a large new room. This was accompanied by a repair of the older rooms, which is thus summed up at the commencement of the account:

"Pro mansione M. prepositi. Imprimis sol' pro reparacionibus Antique Camere et antique parlure, cum vj^{li} viij^{s} sol' M. Welles . cviij^{li} vij^{s} ob."[1]

It will be further observed that the entertainment of strangers and persons of distinction visiting Cambridge, as directed by the statutes, was faithfully carried out by successive Provosts. Among these we may mention the Judges in 1488—89; the French Ambassador in 1506—7; and the Judges, and

[1] College Accounts, Vol. 6.

the Bishop of Rochester in 1510—11, when a very curious dinner of fish was provided.

Ibid. 1453—1454. *Expense necessarie.* Item pro reparacione pannorum in parlura prepositi... . . . . . x^{d}.

Ibid. 1458—59. *Expense necessarie.* Item sol' .iiij^{or}. die Augusti pro xxvj lagenis et di' de vino Rubio precii lagene x^{d}. Et pro .iiij^{or}. lagenis et di' de vino dulci precii lagene xvj^{d}. Summa in toto. xxviij^{s}. iij^{d}. Empt' pro legato summi Pontificis et Secretario Regis ac seruientibus eorundem aliorumque extraneorum secum existent' in mansione prepositi per .ij^{or}. dies.

Ibid. 1465—66. *Custus noui edificii.* Item sol' Thome Glasiar de Wulden vltimo die Aprilis pro Reparacione fenestrarum infra mansionem magistri prepositi . . . . . vj^{d}

Item sol' Thome Portar pro mundacione fenestrarum vitriatarum in Aula communi In manso m' prepositi et in Capellis vt patet per quaternum m' Leinster . . . . . v^{s}. viij^{d}.

Item sol' Johanni Grey laborario operanti cum Willelmo Martyn circa reparaciones .ij. Caminorum infra mansionem m' prepositi per xvj dies vna cum coopertura le byse in noua ecclesia et cleyng circa muros Cimiterii[1] per iij dies in plenam solucionem pro hoc anno . . . . . vj^{s}. vj^{d}

Expense necessarie. Item sol' pro...et iij candelabris emptis apud forum Stirbrige pro domicilio m' prepositi . . . ij^{s} x^{d}.

Ibid. 1466—1467. *Expense necessarie.* Item sol' pro diuersis expensis factis circa extraneos superuenientes ad domicilium magistri prepositi hoc anno . . . . . c^{s}.

Ibid. 1467—1468. *Expense necessarie.* Item sol' pro j Cista remanente in manso magistri Prepositi ibidem pro Seniscallo, et pro diuersis necessariis Collegii ibidem custodiendis . . . iij^{s} iiij^{d}

Item sol' pro j. dressyngknyfe empt' per Clyff pro coquina magistri prepositi . . . . . xvj^{d}

Ibid. 1469—1470. *Custus noui edificii.* Item sol' pro .x^{ti}. Breke pro coquina mansionis m' Prepositi . . . . . xv^{d}.

Item sol' pro quodam later in parua parlura infra mansionem magistri prepositi . . . . . iiij^{s}.

Item sol' Willelmo Martyn pro factura cuiusdam Ostii prope Cameram .m. prepositi. Et pro .le. pynnyng parue parlure infra mansum .m. prepositi per .iij. dies di' . . . . . xxj^{d}

Expense necessarie. Item pro renouacione cuiusdam Tabule beate Marie stantis super Altare infra mansionem magistri prepositi xij^{d}

[1] By *cimiterium* the court, subsequently called 'the Chapel Yard,' is probably meant, and not the cemetery west of the chapel.

Ibid. 1472—1473. *Custus noui edificii.* Item sol' dauy Carpentario pro le grunselyng vnius domus infra mansionem m' prepositi et pro reparacione Camerarum Choristarum et factura lectorum eorundem . . . . . xxij^{s} ob.
Expense necessarie. Item sol' pro extraneis superuenientibus ad domicilium m' prepositi hoc anno . . . . . iiij^{s}.

Ibid. 1473—1474. *Custus noui edificii.* Item sol' pro le Skrene pro parlura mansionis magistri prepositi fact' per Johannem Joynour iij^{s}. j^{d}.

College Accounts, Vol. 6. 1474—75. Item sol' lopham glasier pro reparacione fenestrarum vitrearum in parlura mansionis M' prepositi . . . . . xij^{d}.

Ibid. 1477—78. Item...Talbot Cleyer pro vij diebus mense Nouembris vsque x^{mum} diem eiusdem mensis pro dawbyng et cleying in mansione M' Prepositi ad vj^{d}. per diem . . . . . iij^{s}. vj^{d}.
Item pro reparacione .ij. Serarum magne Camere mansionis M' Prepositi . . . . . ij^{d}.
Item sol' Lopham per Clyff pro reparacione fenestre vitree infra dictam mansionem . . . . . iiij^{d}
Item sol' dauyd Carpentar' pro ix diebus in mansione M' Prepositi et Curia Conductorum cum M' Siluestr' . . . . iij^{s} ix^{d}.

Ibid. 1478—79. M^{d}. de xij^{d}. solutis Thome Sympson pro cariagio Rubbell (*sic*) a noua domo M' Prepositi. Et de vj^{s}. viij^{d}. debitis eidem pro iiij^{or} bigatis magnorum lapidum pro mantel stones.
Item sol' Martino prentyce eodem die per .ij. septimanas proxime precedentes pro factura Ostii in domo M' Prepositi. Et in remocionem magne porte in Brewhowse yarde[1] . . . viij^{s}.

Ibid. 1479—80—1483. Item sol' Markeley pro .ij. bigat' magnorum lapidum pro mantel-stones pro noua domo M' Prepositi . vj^{s} viij^{d}.
Item sol' pro xxxij lib' Ferri pro magna noua Camera M' Prepositi in vigilia Pasche . . . . . iiij^{s}.
Item sol' dauyd ij^{do}. die Maii ad manus Thome Clyff pro .iij. diebus in Coquina M' Prepositi vt patet per quaternum Clyff . xv^{d}.

College Accounts, Vol. 4. 1480—81. Et liberavit in pecuniis super Altare infra Mansionem M' prepositi v^{to}. die Julii Anno xx^{o}. xvij^{s}. x^{d}. Quos xvij^{s}. x^{d}. M. Meus habet in custodia sua.

Ibid. Vol. 6. 1481—82. Item sol' Wynter Glasyer in partem solucionis bille viz: de xxiiij^{s} vij^{d}. pro vitriacione infra mansionem M' Prepositi . . . . . xiiij^{s} vij^{d}.
Item sol' Johanni Belle lathamo pro .ij. diebus circa Caminum in Camera M' Prepositi ix^{o} et x^{o} diebus marcii [March 1482] . xiiij^{s}.

[1] The Brewhouse was probably at the south-west corner of the site, near the gate called 'Friars'-Gate' leading into what is now Queens' Lane.

Item sol' Johanni Wynter iiij^{to} die Septembris pro mundacione .ix. panes vitri in magna parlura M' Prepositi xvj^{d}. Et pro remocione et mundacione .vij. panes in parua parlura xij^{d}. Et pro reparacione .iiij^{or}. Cases xvj^{d}. Et pro xxj ped' vitri pro ostiis in Regio Closet x^{s}. vj^{d}. Et pro viij^{to} ped' vitri in parua Camera M' Prepositi iiij^{s}. . . . . xviij^{s}. ij^{d}.

Mundum-Book, 1482—83. *Custus noui edificii.* Item sol' pro mensulis pro fenestra in interiori Camera magistri prepositi... . . . ij^{s}

Item sol' pro Sera et .vij. Clauibus pro le wyket in mansione m. prepositi . . . . . iiij^{s}

Item sol' pro vno waynescote empt' de Rogero Adam ij^{do}. die Octobris pro porta mansionis m. prepositi . . . . . xij^{d}.

Item sol' Martino Prentyce pro factura eiusdem porte per .ij. septimanas viij^{s}. Et Waltero Becham per idem tempus vj^{s}. Et laborat' viij^{d}. . . . . xiiij^{s}. viij^{d}.

Item sol' pro vno stoklok et claue pro porta hospicii m. prepositi viij^{d}.

Item sol' pro reparacione de stoklok pro le wyket, et vna noua claue pro eadem sera . . . . . vj^{d}.

Item sol' Johanni Bell et Rogero paynter lathomis pro reparacione .ij. Caminorum in mansione .M. prepositi . . . . . xj^{s}. ij^{d}.

Item sol' pro vno Cliket key pro ostio parlure in dicta mansione ij^{d}.

Item sol' Willelmo Prentyce pro mensulis pro nouo ostio in domo focalium Mansionis .M. Prepositi. Et pro labore eiusdem Willelmi et alterius carpentarii per vnum diem . . . . . ij^{s}

College Accounts, Vol. 4. 1486—87.

Billa Simonis Kendale Smyth.

Item debetur eidem pro .iij. paribus de henges et .vj. howkes pro mansione M' prepositi . . . . . ij^{s}. xj^{d}. q.

Item pro vno Standard pro fenestra parue parlure pond' viij lib. xij d. Et pro vno pari de Gemows viij d. Et pro .vij. Standardes pro fenestr' noue parlure prope antiquum promptuarium pond' liiij lib di' vj^{s}. ix^{d}. ob. q. . . . . iij^{s}. v^{d}. ob. q.

Item pro vno Cordu' iiij^{or} plates vno Bolt et vno Bayle pro fonte in dict' mans' . . . . . iiij^{s}. j^{d}.

Item pro iiij^{or} standerdes pro quadam fenestra in dicta Mansione prope altam stratam pond' xxix lib' di' . . . . . iij^{s}. viij^{d} q.

Mundum-Book, 1488—89. *Reparaciones.* Item sol' pro diuersis seris et clauibus pro mansione M. Prepositi xxix^{o}. die Augusti . xvj d.

Item sol' Willelmo Markeley eodem die pro j. Fother Calcis adusti pro reparacione dicte mansionis . . . . . ij^{s}. vj^{d}.

Item sol' .iij. davbatoribus pro reparacione dicte mansionis . xviij^{d}.

Expense necessarie. Item sol' Secundo et Tercio diebus Octobris

pro prandio fact' Justiciariis Domini Regis et Generosis aduenientibus cum illis ad mansionem M. Prepositi. Et pro victualibus emptis pro diuersis extraneis per totum Annum . . lv^{s}. xj^{d} ob. Item sol' pro Allocacione xj^{xx}. xiij. personarum superueniencium ad domicilium dicti M. prepositi hoc Anno. pro quolibet iij^{d}. lviij^{s}. iij^{li}.

Ibid. 1496—97. *Expense necessarie.* Et xxx^{o} die Novembris sol' Johanni Glasiar' pro emendacione fenestre vitree in manso M.' prepositi et pro vno li' de soder ij^{s}. Et pro cariagio vitri eodem die xij^{d}.

Ibid. 1499—1500. *Expense necessarie.* Item sol' pro expensis factis circa M' Reed iusticiarium in domo M' prepositi per billam henrici coci M' prepositi viij s. xj d. et per billam galfridi provisoris videlicet pro dentrice et j tenche et ij^{bus} caponibus . xiij s. ix d. Item sol' pro extraneis venientibus ad domum M' prepositi a primo die decembris vsque ix diem Januarii . . . xij^{s}. vj^{d} *Reparationes in Collegio.* Item sol' pro vij^{li} de sowdyr et di' precii iiijd. j li' ij^{s} v^{d}. in crastino epiphanie pro reparatione fenestrarum de vitro in domo magistri prepositi iiij^{s}. . . vj^{s}. v d.

Ibid. 1500—1501. *Expense necessarie.* Item xxij^{o} die Januarii sol' Richardo Otte fabro pro ij^{bus} clavibus pro ostio in orto M' prepositi iuxta locum suum et pro ostio infra locum suum vbi compotat vj d. *Reparationes.* Item viij^{o} die augusti sol' Johanni Richard pro x bigatis arene pro le pavyng in loco M' prepositi . . . ij^{s}. vj^{d}. Item xiiij^{o} die augusti sol' wyse de hynton pro j fodyr de lyme pro le pavyng in loco M' prepositi . . . . . ij^{s}. vj^{d}.

Ibid. 1502—3. *Expense necessarie.* Item pro extraneis superueni-entibus ad domum M' prepositi hoc anno vt patet per billam suam examinatam . . . . . iij li. vij^{s}. iij^{d}.

Ibid. 3—1504. *Reparaciones.* Item in vigilia sancti Bartholomei M' Stubbys pro Waynescott pro domo Magistri Prepositi . . . ix^{d} Item xxij^{o}. die Junii Willelmo Pottard pro factura cloace que procedit a coquina M' prepositi . . . . . v^{s}. Item pro blake ad pingend' caminum M' prepositi . . . j^{d} Item Johanni Bury pro factura Camini in domo M' prepositi xxvj^{s}. viij^{d}.

Ibid. 1506—7. *Expense necessarie.* Item M' preposito pro expensis imbaciatoris Francie . . . . . xj^{s}. vij^{d}

Ibid. 1507—8. *Expense necessarie.* Item x^{o}. die Aprilis Ott Fabro pro diuersis receptis ab eo pro domo M' prepositi viz : pro ij boltes et j Cera (*sic*) xij^{d}. et pro ij boltes et le tresaunce x^{d}. et pro emendacione vnius cere et noua claue iiij^{d}. et pro v staples et ij haspes iiij^{d}. et pro emendacione vnius Cere et iij nouis Clauibus x^{d}. . . . . iij^{s}. iiij^{d} Item xxiiij^{to}. die Aprilis Johanni Kele Joyner ex conuencione secum facta per M' prepositum pro factura vnius fenestre in manso eiusdem

ij^{s}. vj^{d}. et eidem laboran' circa facturam alterius fenestre et circa alia necessaria ibidem per iij dies et di' ad vj^{d}. per diem xxj^{d}. iiij^{s}. iij^{d}. Item M' preposito pro extraneis superuenientibus domicilio M' prepositi per dimidium anni vt patet per billam suam . . lvij^{s}. x^{d}.

Ibid. 1509—10. *Reparaciones.* Item pro reparacione camine (*sic*) in camera M' Prepositi et pro dealbatione tecti ipsius camere . xxiij^{s}. Item pro fenestra nouiter fact' in camera domus M' Prepositi versus plateam et pro reparatione facta circa portam eiusdem domus cum reparatione fenestre vitree in magna parlura . xviij^{s}.

Ibid. 1510—1511. *Expense necessarie.* Item pro iij dentric' v^{s}. et pro iij tenchis ij^{s}. vij^{d}. et pro turbutt xiij^{d}. et pro anguillis xxij^{d}. et pro Rochis x^{d}. et pro recen' salmone iij^{s}. ij^{d}. et pro scate vij^{d}. empto pro domino Reed Judice et pro M' Broke et M' Nidigatt seruien' Domini nostri Regis ad legem et aliis generosis Comitatus Cantebr' prandentibus in domo M' Prepositi vltra x^{s}. iij^{d}. ob. solut' pro pane Ceruisia vino et speciebus vt patet per billam eius . . . . . xxv^{s}. iiij^{d}. ob. Item pro diuersis Cibariis emptis pro Episcopo Roffensi, M' vicecancelario et aliis doctor' secum pranden' in domo M' Prepositi cum pane Ceruisia vino et speciebus . . . . xxiiij^{s}. iij^{d}. q.

Ibid. 1515—1516. *Expense necessarie.* Item ix die martii Ricardo Smythe pro vectura vnius C. salicum a saliceto ad mansionem M' Prepositi. . . . . xiiij^{d}. *Reparationes.* Item xxvij^{s}. die Nouemb' Grype tegulanti super mansionem M' Prepositi per ij. dies xij^{d}. et alteri ministranti eidem viij^{d}. . . . . xx^{d}.

In the accounts for 1536—37 (Mich. 28 Hen. 8—Mich. 29 Hen. 8) we find that preparations are being made for an expected visit of the King. Part of the Lodge that had become ruinous was pulled down, and new chambers erected. In a separate paragraph at the end of the heading "Reparaciones" the employment of workmen is mentioned 'circa deiectionem veterum domorum in mansione domini prepositi tunc temporis ruinam minantium:' and further on the building of a Gallery is definitely described:

'Item sol' eisdem et diuersis aliis laborantibus in mansione domini prepositi pro sua magna Camera et galeria de nouo erigen' et ceteris reparandis in adventum domini Regis, et pro freeston de quarrura de Welldon et aliis lapidibus emptis a...fratribus Car-

melitanis; necnon pro lateribus, tegulis, asseribus, clauis, zabulo, calce adusto, etc., pro eodem opere, vt patet per quaternum pecuniarum, in partem solucionis de vij^{xx} li . . . . iiij^{xx} li."

The following extract refers to the same work:

Mundum-Book, 1536—1537. *Reparaciones.* Item sol'...bankys Fabro ferrario vt patet per billam pro sera et stapull pro ostio deambulatorii domini Prepositi vij^{s}. Et pro claue et stapull pro domo lignaria eiusdem iiij^{d}.... Et pro sera pro domo carbonaria domini prepositi vjd. et pro claue pro domo frumentaria iijd . . ij^{s} viij^{d}.

From the large sum, £140, representing at least £1400 at the present value of money, which these works were estimated to cost, they must have been very extensive; and we see that they were intended to be durable, from the purchase of Weldon stone. It would be interesting to know for what part of the Lodge this was intended. Galleries were usually of wood, to judge from the only example remaining, the beautiful structure at Queens', and from the accounts of the one built by Archbishop Parker at Corpus Christi College. It is of course possible that a more lasting material was employed here. The Gallery at King's is often alluded to afterwards, and the date of its first construction being now known, we are able to point to it as a proof that the same house was used as the Lodge from this time forwards. The mention of the Carmelite Friary is interesting. The house was not pulled down till two years afterwards, in 1539—40. It is possible however that the brethren foresaw their destruction, and were selling off all that they could turn into money. This will account for the small amount of property found in their house after the surrender to Dr Mey, President of Queens' College, in September, 1538[1].

The extent of the works begun in this year is shewn by the time they occupied, for in the next Mundum-book that has been preserved, that for 1541—42, the heading "Custus noui edificii infra mansionem m' prepositi apud Cantabrigiam"

[1] See Mr Searle's *History of Queens' College*, p. 226.

occurs, with the following summary of the operations, and of the money spent:

"Item pro Eversden Stoon, bryke, Ragg, and White Stoon empt' aput domum Carmelitarum, Sclatt, cum meremio et cariagio eiusdem, calce adusta et zabulo, cum ferro pro fenestris, et aliis necessariis, et vadiis lathamorum, carpentariorum, et aliorum artificum, a primo die Maii vsque ad [blank]; vt patet per quaternum magistri Foster[1] super hunc computum ostensum et examinatum . . iiij^{xx} ix li. ij^{s} ob.'"

The following entry from the accounts for 1547—48 contains the first mention of the porch, the position of which was nearly due east of the Chapel (see plan). From this entry we learn that it had a room over it, as was so often the case in manor-houses built in that reign and the next.

Mundum-Book, 1547—48. *Expense necessarie.*

Item xxvj^{to} nouembris galew de London pro sex armis regiis et collegii pro mansione domini Prepositi cum x^{d} pro vectura . . xvj^{s} x^{d}
Item pro iiij caseamentis in porta domini Prepositi . . . . viij^{s}
Item xx^{mo} decemb' Rogero yonge vitario (*sic*) pro 85 ped' normandy glase pro superiore porticu in mansione domini prepositi ad iiij^{d} ob xxxij^{s} iij^{d}; et 56 ped' de burgon glase pro inferiori ad iiij^{d} ob xxj^{s}; et pro xiiij quarres et settyng in a new armes in the great chambre xx^{d}; in toto . . . . . liiij^{s} xj^{d}
Item to Robert frenchman settyng up ij dores in mansione domini Prepositi . . . . . ij^{s} viij^{d}

Reparaciones.

Item pro reding fenestras in mansione domini Prepositi per tres dies xviij^{d}
Item for bynding to the same . . . . . v^{d}

At the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth the accounts for four consecutive years have fortunately been preserved, extending from Michaelmas 1560 to Michaelmas 1564. The first of these contains nothing of interest, but in the next the decoration of the "new hall" and of the "new chamber by the new hall" is commenced. The number of yards of canvas that were painted 'to make a border' for each of these rooms is given.

[1] He was Fellow of the College.

In the former case 36 yards = 108 feet are mentioned; in the latter 28 yards = 84 feet. The Hall might therefore have been 35 feet long by 19 feet wide; and the chamber 25 feet long by 17 feet wide. In 1562—63 these rooms were hung with 'Norwich say,' and the 'great dynynge chamber' was wainscotted. In the next year (1563—64) a crest was added to the wainscot. In 1562—63 the porch had a lead roof added to it. It is curious to observe that while this rich decoration was proceeding a portion of the Lodge had to be shored up, and the woodwork held together with iron clamps.

Mundum-Book. 1561—62. *Expense necessarie.* "Item sol' leonard Matiston for one doble casement for the newe haull in mansione m^ri prepositi [and other charges] . . . . . v^s viij^d

Item sol' ... for ij pewter pottes ponderant' v^li and dimid' ad x^d the pownd, iiij^s vij^d. Et pro tribus Ewers, xij^s; pro ij^bus salinis viij^d; pro tribus candelabris vij^s. For a voyder ponderant' vij^li ad x^d the pownde v^s x^d; et pro excambio xviij^li et dimid' de pewter vessell ad iij^d pro libra iiij^s vij^d ob. Et pro le cullender pro coquina magistri prepositi iiij^s; in toto . . . . . xxxviij^s viij^d ob.

Item sol' dauidi horne for waynescottynge the new studye in eadem mansione . . . . . iij li xiij s iiij d

Item for mattes and laying them in the same studye . . . vj^s viij^d

Item sol' dauidi Horne for a hallfe headd to the bedsted in M^r Provostes bedchamber . . . . . vj^s viij^d

Item sol' Roberto Tatam for xviij yardes of canvas at ix d the yeard to make a border for the new haull in mansione m^ri prepositi xiij s.

Item sol' Rychard Crowe for payntynge the same border conteynynge xxxvj yeardes at x^d the yeard . . . . . xxx^s

Item sol' Roberto Tatam for xiiij yeardes and a quarter of canvas at viij d y^e yearde to make a border for the new chamber by the new haull . . . . . ix s vj d

...Item sol' Rychardo Crowe for payntynge the same border conteynyng in lengthe xxviij yeardes et dimid' at x^d the yeard xxiij^s viij^d."

Ibid. 1562—63. *Expense necessarie.* Item sol' magistro Nycholao Norgate de Norwyche for iiij peces of norwyche sayes to hange the new haull and the chamber next vnto yt in mansione magistri prepositi . . . . . vj li. xiij^s iiij^d

Item sol' davidi horne for a portall of waynescot in the newe haull xxvj s viij^d

Item eidem for a selynge of waynescotte with a portall doore in yt . xx^s

Item for mendynge y^e^ new studye wyndowes in mansione magistri prepositi . . . . . x^d^

Item sol' dauidi horne for wayneskottynge the great dynynge chambre in mansione magistri prepositi . . . . . xliiij^li^ vj^s^ viij^d^

Reparaciones. Item sol' Thome Poleye for castynge and laynge xxj C of leade uppon M^r^ Provostes porche ad ij^s^ vj^d^ for the hundrethe lij^s^ vj^d^

Item sol' Thome Poley for castynge and laynge one thousand and one quarter of leade uppon M^r^ Provostes porche ad ij^s^ vj^d^ the hundrethe xxvj^s^ iij^d^

Item eidem for xvij dayes worke vppon the said porche abowte the spowtes and otherwyse at xvj^d^ the daye And to hys man for the lyke time at xij^d^ by the daye in toto . . . . . xxxix viij^d^

Item sol' Johani dent laboranti per v dies ad xiij^d^ per diem in shoryng uppe m^r^ provostes howse and settyng to the yoyntes certeyne dogges of yron [and other workmen] in toto . . . . . xvj^s^

Ibid. 1563—64. *Expense necessarie.* Item sol' for a creast of waynscoot in nova aula in mansione magistri prepositi longitudine continens centum pedes, ad vj d pro pede . . . liij s. vj^d^

Item sol' for a creast of waynscoot in the chamber next to the newe haull conteynyng iiij^xx^. vj foote ad vj d pro pede . . . . . xlij^s^

Item sol' for a portall to the said chamber . . . . . xl^d^.

Ibid. 1570—71. *Expense necessarie.* It' button for mendyng m^r^ provostes arres (*sic*) clothes . . . . . xiiij^s^

The Hall may be identified with part of a large building, with a high-pitched roof, extending from the north end of the gallery to Trumpington Street, as shewn in the views of Loggan and Harraden. These portions of the Lodge were used for the entertainment of Queen Elizabeth in 1564. The narrative of her visit says "The Guard Chamber was the Lower Hall of the Provost's Place; the Chamber of Presence, the Lodging over that; the Gallery and other chambers served for the Queen's Lodging." The narrative further mentions that she left the Chapel 'through the east window of the north vestry.' This was used as a private way for the Provost until the north wing of the Lodge was sold to the University as mentioned above. The inventory of 1660 enumerates "The Great Hall" as well as "The Waynscot Hall;" and the term "Neyther Hall" also occurs in the Accounts. Again, the quantity of crest used, viz.

100 feet, corresponds with the dimensions of the room on the ground-floor, afterwards subdivided into "ante-room" and "dining-room," or of that over it, due allowance having been made for windows, doors, and fireplace[1]; but the position to be assigned to "the chamber next to the hall," which was nearly as large as the former, for it required 86 feet of crest to go round it, is a matter of much greater difficulty, unless we may be permitted to place it on the upper floor.

For the rest of the reign of Elizabeth, and the first few years of that of her successor, there is nothing of importance to record. The following extracts contain everything of interest that I have been able to find. We learn from them incidentally that the Hall had a west window. This is shewn in one of Harraden's large views. It is a square window, of considerable size, with the central portion higher than the sides, and terminating in a semicircle, like the window at the west end of Pembroke College Library; and was therefore probably inserted long after the period we are now considering to replace an earlier one. A room which is afterwards called the East Study (*Museum orientale*) was apparently used at this time as a supplement to the Muniment Room. It is curious to observe that so early as 1592—93 the woodwork of the Hall was painted white.

Mundum-Book, 1575—76. *Reparaciones.*

Item to parkers boye for hear and reade to sele m^{r} provostes parlour xiiij d
Item for 3 lib of redd leade ad 4 lib of read (*sic*) oker to paynte the postes in m^{r} provosts neyther hall . . . . . xvj d

[1] The total length of the 4 walls is 129 feet; but if we deduct 18 ft. for 3 windows (the number probably before the room was divided), 7 ft. for the west window, 8 ft. for 2 doors, and 5 ft. for the fire-place, = 38 ft, we obtain a total of 91 ft., to which 8 ft. may be added for the jambs of the 4 windows, over which the wainscot would of course extend. This makes 99 ft., which is so nearly the number of feet of crest paid for, that we may be certain that the identification of the hall with this part of the Lodge is correct.

Ibid. 1576—77. *Expense necessarie.*

Item to Dawson the glasier for mending the glasse in the casementes in m^r^ provostes wainescote hall . . . . . iij^s^ iiij d

Ibid. 1577—78. *Expense necessarie.*

Item for x. holdfastes of iron to fasten y^e^ wainscot in M^r^ Prov. wainscot hall, and to y^e^ ioiner . . . . . xvj d

Ibid. 1582—83. *Reparaciones Termino Baptiste.*

Item to Parkers boy pro opere 2 dierum et dim in mending the roofe of the grene chamber in M^r^ Provost's Lodging . . . ij s j d

To Williamson pro scowring the ould green hangings [in the Provost's hall] . . . . . iij^s^

To Barker the glasier for leading and sondering the great west windowe there . . . . . vij s

Ibid. 1588—89. *Expense necessarie.*

Item solut' Burchall pro reficiend' le waynscott in fenestra occident' de le waynscott hall in edibus M^ri^ Prepositi . . . . . v. s.

Ibid. 1590—91. *Reparaciones.*

Item solut' Gabrieli Cater Joyner pro novo abbaco per ipsum confecto in Museo orientali domus magistri Prepositi ad ordine reponenda scripta diuersa Collegii maneria et negotia concernentia . . xl. s.

Ibid. 1593—94. *Reparaciones.*

Item solut' lapicide operanti 5 dies circa caminum in Aula m^ri^ Prepositi ad ix d per diem . . . . . v^s^ x d

Item solut' Parker et filio operantibus 6 dies in dealbandis parietibus et le seeling eiusdem Aule . . . . . xj s

Item solut' pro spanishe white ad idem opus . . . . . ij^s^ x d

Item Peere, Dowsie, et Treeve fabris lignariis operantibus 19 dies ad 12 d per Diem in Joysting and boording M^r^ Provostes waynscott hall . . . . . lvij s

Ibid. 1595—96. *Expense necessarie.*

1596. Item solut' Betson le Joyner pro newe ledges de waynscott
Ter. } rounde about le Arnesse Chamber in ædibus magistri Prepositi
Bapt. } et pro le east windowe . . . . . xviij s

Item solut' pictori pro paynting le Armes utriusque Collegii ibidem . v s

Ibid. 1602—3. *Expense necessarie.*

Solut' pro scowring and renewing the colors of the Arras hangings in ædibus magistri Præpositi, being 4 peeces . . . . . iij^li^ iij^s^

Ibid. 1605—6. *Expense necessarie.*

Item solut' pro 9 barres for the windowe next the garden in edibus magistri prepositi . . . . . xviij d

Ibid. 1608—9. *Expense necessarie.*

Item solut' pro mattes et laying them agaynst the visitacon in le matted chamber magistri prepositi . . . . . xxvj s

The last extracts all refer to the long tenure of office of Dr Goade (Provost 1569—1610). At his death it was thought desirable to refurnish the Lodge, and in consequence the following articles were bought. The description of them gives a vivid idea of the richness of the furniture of that period; while the high prices of some of the articles, and the cheapness of others, are equally remarkable.

Mundum-Book, 1609—10. *Expense necessarie.*

Solut' pro .6. Turky work heades of stooles with white grounds and lylly potts in ædibus Magistri Præpositi . . . . . xxiiij^{s}
Item pro .6. Turky worke heads of a sad greene . . . . . xx^{s}
Item pro .12. frames, fringe, Nayles etc ad conficiendum les stooles Liiij^{s}
Item pro le great red-leather chaire printed with gould, et 2 low stooles eiusdem operis . . . . . xvj s
Item pro .6. high stooles covered with redd leather and printed with gould . . . . . xx^{s}
Item pro portagio prædictorum . . . . . xvj^{d}
Item pro le grater in vsum culinæ Magistri Præpositi . . . xxj d
Solut pro le hopbaskett . . . . . ij^{s}
Item pro .2. payles and one Jett . . . . . ij^{s}
Item pro .2. shovells . . . . . xiiij d
Item pro pecking le mill . . . . . ij^{s}
Solut' pro .2. blanketts in vsum Magistri Præpositi . . xxvj^{s} viij d
Item pro a standing feile (*sic*) bedd, green say curtaines and vallance, a Testar with three Curtan rodds . . . . . v^{li} iij^{s} iiij^{d}
Item pro a great chayre . . . . . xviij^{s} viij^{d}
Item pro a little backChaire embrodred . . . . . viij^{s}
Item pro a large Arras Coverlett . . . . . viij^{li}
Item pro a fether bedd and boulster . . . . . iiij^{li} x^{s}
Item pro a quiltedd wool mattres . . . . . xj^{s}
Item pro .12. thrummed quishions . . . . . xliiij^{s} vj^{d}
Item pro a redd lether chaire and two low stooles . . . . x^{s}
Item pro portagio predictorum . . . . . ij^{s} vj^{d}

Ibid. 1610—11. *Expense necessarie.*

Solut' pro .2. tapetis communiter vocat' arrace carpetts in vsum magistri Prepositi in cubiculo Auditoris . . . . . vij li
Solut' pro a hanging presse in vsum eiusdem . . . . . xl s
Solut' pro .60. virgis de peristromatibus communiter vocatis Dornicks pro adornatione novi cubiculi magistri Prepositi ad 2j^{d} ob le virg' et pro portagio eiusdem de Londres 3^{s} 4^{d} in toto . . . v^{li} v^{s} vj^{d}
Solut' Prior vpholster pro diuersis ad adornacionem eiusdem cubiculi et lecti in eodem cubiculo vt patet per billam . . viij s. iiij d
Solut' pro a livery Cupbord in le matted Chamber in ædibus magistri Prepositi . . . . . xxj^{s}

Reparaciones.

Solut' Betson pro .29. virgis de Oake Wainscott in le matted chamber in Mansione Magistri Prepositi ad 2^{s} 6^{d} le virg' . . iij^{li} xiij s vj d

Dr Fogg Newton did not long live to enjoy these splendours. In less than two years he was succeeded by Dr William Smythe, whose office was inaugurated by a wainscotting of the Audit Chamber, by Richard Chapman, perhaps a relation of Andrew Chapman, who wainscotted the hall of Trinity College in 1604.

Mundum-Book, 1612—13. *Expense necessarie.*

Solut' Punchard pro sawing wainscots et clapbords pro le Audyt chamber ad 3^{s} le Curfe (?) . . . . . xlviij^{s} v^{d}
Solut' Chapman in partem Solucionis pro wainscotting le Audyt Chamber . . . . . x^{li}
Solut' Chapman in plenam solucionem pro wainscotting le Audyt Chamber 12^{li} 19^{s} ultra 11^{s} pro lyninge behinde in toto . . xiij^{li} x^{s}
Term. Annunc. Solut' Richardo Chapman pro fitting et laying le plank-bordes in le Audyt Chamber . . . . . xxxvj s viij d

The following extracts give a few interesting particulars of repairs, additions, and alterations up to the Restoration. In 1648 the "New Parlour", as it was still called, was wainscotted afresh. It is amusing to notice that the bedstead bought in 1610 had become, by 1631, "y^{e} old bedsted bought in D^{r} Newton's time."

Mundum-Book, 1615—16. *Expense necessarie.*

Sol' Betson fabro lignario for a standing bed of wallnutttree at 5^{li}; for a livery cupbord sutable 28^{s}; and for a drawing table of wall-

nuttree likewise 4ll; for a round table . 13s. and a trundle bedd . 5s; all these for the Lodging . . . . . xjll vj.

Ibid. 1616—17. *Reparaciones.*

Sol' Betson pro a presse and a draw window in mansione magistri Præpositi . . . . . xxxs

Ibid. 1620—21. *Expense necessarie.*

Solut. pro 4 heigh chayres imbroydered et 2 leather chayres et 6 stooles turkey-worke, et 4 new stooles wth covers 11. 0. 0

Ibid. 1621—22. *Expense necessarie.*

Solut' pro 1 long Carpet et 1 side board of new greene broadecloth with silke strings and 1 square board Carpet and 1 side board Carpet of the same work vna cum factura eorundem . . . vjll xijs viijd

Ibid. 1624—25. *Expense necessarie.*

Sol' Pryor le vpholster pro dornix, ringe, tape etc. pro curtaines in le green roome in Mansione . . . . . iij li xvj s viij d

Ibid. 1625—26. *Expense necessarie.*

Sol' Betson pro a Walnuttree bedstedd in le Audit chamber in adventu Regis anno domini 1624 . . . . . iiij li

Eidem pro variis circa le gallery et Musæum in Mansione . xxxvjs vj d

Ibid. 1631—32. *Expense necessarie.*

Item Hammond le draper pro new stuff pro le testar, curtains, vallance, etc. to ys old bedsted bought in Dr Newton's time [King James visited Cambridge and stayed at the Lodge in this year.] . 3. 12. 10

Ibid. 1636—37. *Expense necessarie.*

Sol' pro a little new wainscot table in mansione 0. 10. 0

Item pro :j: doz. new turky work Cushions ibidem . . . 4. 10. 0

Ibid. 1648—49. *Reparaciones.*

Sol' Johanni Wade le Joyner pro 63. virgis et dimid de le New Wainscott in nova parlura apud Mansionem ad 5s 6d pro virga . . 17. 9. 3

Item pro le newe Chymney peece ibidem. 5. 0. 0

Sol' etiam predicto Johanni Wade pro le twoe new tables in le New Parlor predict'. 2. 10. 0

We now come to the second of the two inventories which we have selected for printing. It will be seen that it enumerates the rooms already mentioned incidentally.

January 24th 1660. An Inventory of the College goods taken by D^r^ Barlow viceprovst M^r^ Bradman M^r^ Flyer burssars. In the Provosts Lodgings.

In the Old Parlor

Item one joynt Table with two Leaues, 3 spanish
Item 24 Old Turkey worke stooles
Item 1 Turkey worke Chaier
Item 3 old Leather Chaiers
Item y^e^ Winscott about y^e^ Parlor
Item 2 stript kitermaster Carpetts
Item 1 Old deske
Item 1 Organ and Harpsecall
Item 1 Lardge iron grate.
Item ye Shutts to ye North window, firewood, Tongues, Bellow, Snuffers and extinguisher, pewter cesterne, and Jane Shoars picture.

In the Kitchin.

Item 1 Setle 1 fourme 1 Stand for the Morter
Item 2 Long dresser boards 1 Round Table
Item 4 shelues 1 wooden salt box
Item 1 Range for spitts 1 Cuppboard to sett brasse in
Item 1 Brasse jacke with a Case 2 iron Chaines
Item 1 jacke line with 2 Leaden waits and a case for the Line and waits.
Item 1 fier Racke 1 longe Range
Item 1 Fier forke a fier shovell and Tongs
Item 2 Iron Frames to sett dishes on, 1 greater and one Lesser
Item 1 Iron hough & 2 Fryeing pans
Item 1 Iron to sett a stewing pan vppon
Item 1 long Iron Barr in ye Chimney
Item 2 iron hookes to hang Potts vppon
Item 1 cleuer 1 Choping knife and a meate forke
Item 1 paier of Bellows i iron Led for ye oven
Item 1 gridiron and one iron chafeing dish
Item 4 spitts 1 iron pott 1 boyling pott and 1 duble

Brasse.

Item 3 kettles viz. 1 long and 2 Round now 4
Item 4 skillets viz. 2 brasse and 2 copper
Item 2 skimers and 3 Ladles
Item 5 Candele sticks 1 brass morter
Item 1 stewing pann and New Warmeing pan

Pewter.

Item 4 Lardg pewter Candelsticks
Item 1 midle candelsticke
Item 6 lardge dishes viz. 3 new and 3 old
Item 6 other platters and 1 pasty plate
Item a deepe pewter dish
Item 3 Round Plate 1 wine pint pott
Item 1 Ale quart Pott 3 pewter basons
Item 1 Cullinder 1 large Flaggon
Item 5 dozen and nine Trencher Plates
Item 7 poringers 5 small sallet dishes
Item 1 Salt Seller
Item 2 Ale pint potts
Item 1 pewter Ewer
Item 1 pewter Cesturne for y^e^ Parlor

Tin.

Item 5 Dripping panns
Item 1 Aple Roster
Item 3 puding panns
Item 1 broyler
Item 2 Covers for dishes
Item 1 grater and a drudger

In y^e^ Larder

Item 3 Dresser boards 1 safte
Item 3 shelues
Item 1 poudring tubb
Item 1 vnder dresser
Item 1 stone morter and wooden pestle
Item 1 choping blocke

In ye Kitchin Yard

Item a pump and a Cesturne

In ye Wash House

Item 2 dressers 1 shelfe and a forme

In ye Hen House

Item 1 pen with 3 Troffs

In ye Litle Hall

Item 1 long table
Item 1 liuery Cupboard
Item 1 long wainscot setle
Item 2 short formes
Item a round table

In ye Litle sellar

Item 1 beare stall 2 shelues

In ye litle Cloister Chamber

Item 1 table
Item 1 bedstead
Item 2 shelues

In ye Great Hall

Item a table with 2 tressells
Item 2 long formes, 2 short formes
Item 2 old cupboards
Item 1 long setle of wainscott
Item 1 great woden chaire
Item 1 basson stand

In ye Buttery

Item 2 Cupboards with locks and keys
Item 2 Linen presses
Item 1 Voider
Item 2 bings
Item 6 Chests for Lynen
Item 2 shelues wherof 1 hanginge

In the Sellar

Item 3 beare stalles

In y^e^ New Parlor

Item new winscot round a bout y^e^ Rome
Item fier irons
Item 2 tables 1 lardge Cobalt table and 1 side table
Item 5 Turky worke stools
Item 1 Turkey worke Carpett with a Leather Cover
Item 1 striped Carpett of Kittermaster
Item 5 Turkey worke Chaieres

In ye Closset within ye Parlor

Item a Cupboard and 3 shelues

In ye Street Chamber

Item a Cupboard
Item 1 bedstead
Item ye Winscott
Item 1 old stript Carpett

In ye Matted Chamber

Item ye wainscot round ye Chamber
Item 2 draw windowes
Item 2 green Curtins and 2 Curtin Rods

In the Auditt Chamber

Item ye wainscott round y^e^ Chamber
Item 2 winscott portalls and fower dores therin
Item 2 Liuery Cupboards, 3 given

In y^e^ next Roon

Item 1 presse and 5 shelues

The wainscott Hall

Item y^e^ winscot round ye rome with a Chimney Case
Item 2 portalls and 3 doares
Item 1 iron grate
Item 3 square tables with Tapstry Carppets
Item 1 Livery Cupboard with a Tapstry Carpet

In ye East study

Item ye wainscott rounde ye Roome
Item a table with drawers and a stript carpett
Item 3 cupboards and 9 shelues

In ye West study

Item ye wainscot and shelues
Item 2 presses with shelues

In ye long gallery

Item a round table
Item a wainscott press

In ye Arras Chamber

Item ye hangings Arras round ye chamber with a chimny case of y^e^ same worke
Item A wainscot Portall with a doore
Item another wainscot doore
Item a wainscot table with a frame
Item another faier drawing wainscott table
Item a fier grate with 4 barcs

In the Green Chamber

Item a presse with doors of wainscot
Item darnex Hangings round ye Roome
Item 3 Chaiers and 1 litle one and a stool all imbroiderd
Item wainscott shutts to both ye windowes
Item a paier of Creepers with fier shovell and tongs
Item a pair of Tonges
Item a wainscot narrow Presse

In ye Nurcery Chamber

Item winscott Round ye Roome
Item a wainscot setle and a closet within wainscotted
Item 2 Curtin Rodds
Item a wainscot Portall

In ye brushing Chamber

Item a high bedsted
Item a Cupboard with two doores

In ye saffe House

Item an old saffe
Item an old table and Chest
Item 2 windo shutts

In ye Room by ye saffe Chamber

Item 1 half bedsted

In ye Room within ye Old Parlor

Item 2 Cupboards
Item 1 Table
Item 2 frames of shelues 1 hanging

In ye Chamber over ye washouse

Item a bedstead
Item an old bed a bolster and blanketts

In ye little buttery

Item one bedd

From the number of the rooms here mentioned, we can well believe the statement of Carter, writing in 1753:

"The Provost's Lodge, tho' it makes not so grand an out-side Appearance as some do, yet within, few exceed it for grandeur and convenient Apartments."

It is much to be regretted that none of the furniture, and not even any portion of the wainscot (which subsequent Inventories shew to have existed down to comparatively modern times) has been preserved. It should be mentioned that the portrait of Jane Shore, an oil-painting on panel, is now in the dining-room of the Provost's Lodge.

I subjoin a list of the most uncommon words that occur in the above accounts, with their meaning, where I have been able to discover it.

banker. A cushion to lay on a bench (Fr. banque). 'bankares tho y' lyth nowe vpon the benchys.' Bury Wills, ed. Camd. Soc. p. 101.

bayard. Of a bay colour.

bayle. A bucket.

brendreth = *brandreth*, a kind of trivet.

burgundy glass. A kind of glass continually contrasted in contracts and accounts with 'normandy glass.'

byse. 'Bice' or 'byce' is usually a kind of colour; but here it is evidently a part of the fabric of the chapel.

cliket-key. The *cliket* was a lock for smaller doors in the house, as compared with a *stok-lok* for the 'wyket' or house-door. The word occurs in the Statutes of King's College, Cap. LIX. 'in ostio domus librariæ sit una serura *clikat* vulgariter nuncupata, de qua quilibet socius habeat clavem unam.' Comp. also Chaucer, 'The Merchant's Tale:'

'of the smal wiket
He bare alway of silver a cliket.'

creepers. Small irons in a grate between the andirons.

crosse-jakke.

dentrix, dentriculus. A kind of fish, perhaps a pike.

dornicks. A kind of stuff made at Doornick, or Tournay, in Flanders.

gobard.

grey-lyard. Liard is said to mean 'grey' by Ducange—s. v. 'liardus.' In the Mundum-Book for 1453—54, *Custus Stabuli*, we find it among other curious words applied to horses: 'Item pro vno equo empto de preposito vocat' lyart Ruskyn xxxiij^{s} iiij^{d}. Item pro alio equo vocat' lyart Yorke empto de eodem xlvj^{s} viij^{d}. Item pro alio vocato morel bryg' empto ab eodem ad vsum collegii xxx^{s}. Item pro alio equo vocato Grey-lyart de Huntyngdon empt' ab eodem liij^{s}. iiij^{d}. Item pro alio equo vocat' morel de Huntyngdon empto ab eodem xiij^{s}. iiij^{d}.'

grunselyng. In carpentry, 'grounds' are the pieces of wood, set flush with the plaster, to which the facings are attached. The verb 'to groundsel' probably means to insert these.

jett. A ladle.

later.

latoun = *latten*, plate-tin.

peck. This verb is always used in connection with a mill of some kind. In nearly every year we find an entry 'for pecking le mustard querne.'

peytrell. A breast-plate for a horse. Fr. 'poictraill.'

tresaunce. In the notes to the 'Promptorium Parvulorum' it is explained to mean 'a passage in a house,' representing a low-latin word 'transientia.' The word occurs in the following entries from the account-books of King's College: College Accounts, Vol. VI. 1480—81. 'Et eidem tegulanti super le Tresauncis m' prepositi iiij^{s}.' Ibid. 1482—83. 'pro sera et claue pro ostio inferioris Tresaunce prope coquinam.'

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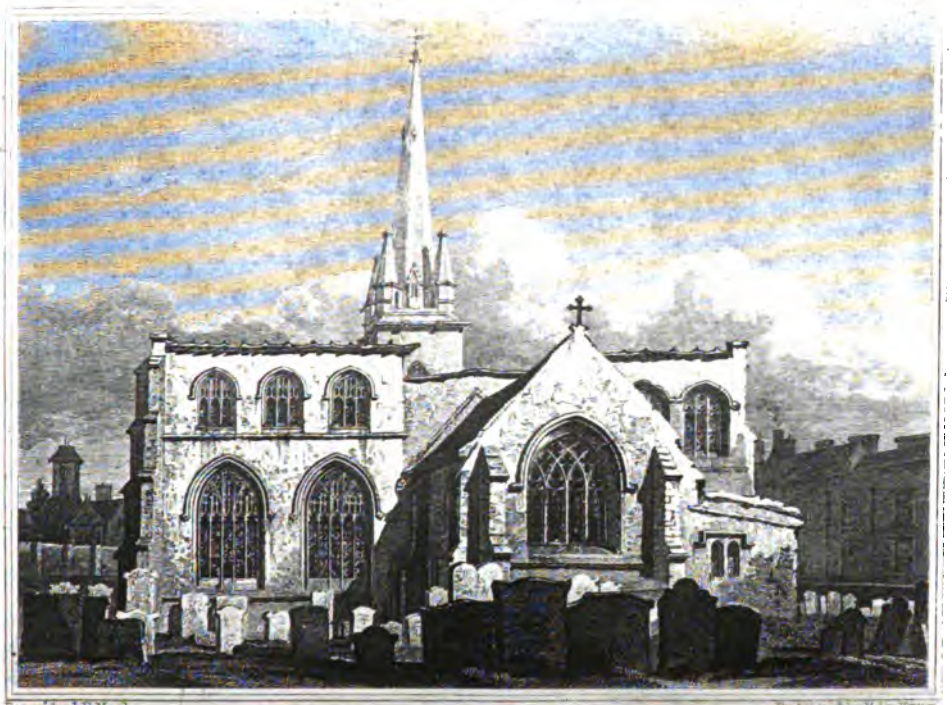
CONTENTS OF COMMUNICATIONS.

		PAGE
XXIV.	Notes on the past History of the Church of Holy Trinity, Cambridge. Communicated by the Rev. J. Barton, M.A., Vicar. (With three plates.)	313
XXV.	Description of an Inscribed Vase, lately found at Guilden Morden, Cambridgeshire. Communicated by the Rev. S. S. Lewis, M.A., Corpus Christi College (With one plate.) .	337
XXVI.	History of the Church of S. John Baptist, Cambridge; commonly called S. John Zachary. Communicated by J. W. Clark, Esq., M.A., Trinity College. (With one plate.) .	343
XXVII.	On Eight Swords. Communicated by W. Wareing Faulder, Esq., Downing College. (With one plate.)	377
XXVIII.	On a Mummy's Treasures recently discovered in the Delta. Communicated by the Rev. C. W. King, M.A., Trinity College.	385
XXIX.	The Triumph of Constantine. Communicated by the Rev. C. W. King, M.A., Trinity College. (With illustrations.) .	391
XXX.	Remarks on the Littera Fraternitatis Concessa Wytfrido Juarii Filio de Insula de Ysland, preserved at Canterbury. Communicated by Eiríkr Magnússon, M.A., Trinity College .	401
XXXI.	On some Burial Urns found near the mouth of the Amazon River. Communicated by Neville Goodman, Esq., M.A., Peterhouse. (With illustrations.)	411
XXXII.	Short Statement relative to some Roman Graves found at Hunstanton. Communicated by Wm. White, Esq., Sub-Librarian of Trinity College. (With one plate.) . . .	423
Index to Vol. IV.		427
Title and Contents to Communications, Vol. IV.		

LIST OF PLATES.

Trinity Church in 1824, exterior and interior facing one another . preceding 313
Stone figure of a mitred abbot . . . . . facing 314
Inscribed Vase found at Guilden Morden . . . . . facing 337
Map of the part of Cambridge in which S. John Baptist's Church was situated (double plate) . . . . . preceding 343
Swords in the possession of W. Wareing Faulder, Esq. (double plate) . . . . . preceding 377
Romano-British Vase found at Hunstanton . . . . . facing 423



Drawn by J.P. Neale. Engraved by H. le Keux.

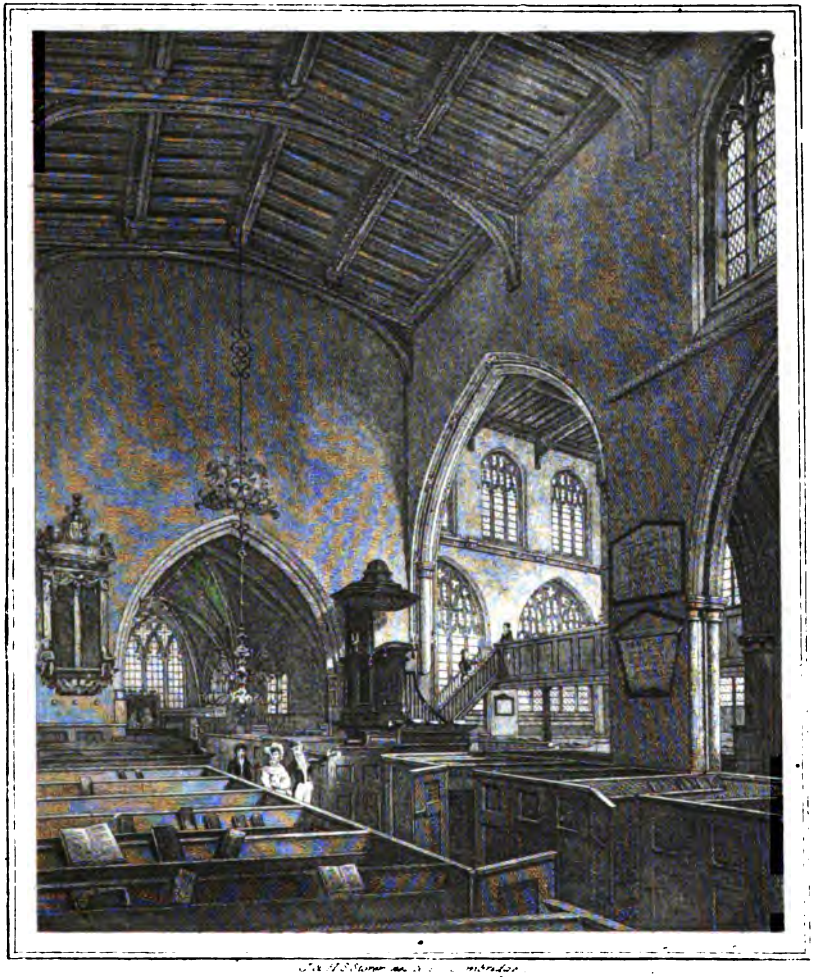
TRINITY CHURCH.

CAMBRIDGE.

As it existed in 1824, shewing the old Decorated Chancel, taken down in 1829.

Cambridge Antiquarian Society

No. XXV.



TRINITY CHURCH.

Interior (1824), shewing the pulpit in which Mr SIMEON preached from 1782 to 1836 and the Vaulting of the old Decorated Chancel

XXIV. Notes on the past History of the Church of Holy Trinity, Cambridge. Communicated by the Rev. J. Barton, M.A., Christ's College, Vicar of the Parish. (With three Plates.)

[November 17, 1879.]

I cannot pretend on the present occasion to offer to the members of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society anything like a complete or exhaustive account of the past history of the Church of the Holy and Undivided Trinity. My own antiquarian knowledge and opportunities for research would not at all qualify me for the performance of any such office, nor are the materials from which any such history could be compiled sufficiently numerous, so far as my present sources of information extend, to entitle my communication of this evening to be regarded as anything more than a few illustrative "notes." My hope is that the few gleanings which I have been able to bring together, throwing light upon the past history of this interesting old parish Church, may be the means of eliciting further information from other explorers in the same field, whether members of our own Society or otherwise, which may help to complete the record of the past, and enable possibly some future Incumbent of Trinity Church to present what may be with more justice called a "history" of the Church.

The earliest notice that I have been able to meet with of the Church dates back to the latter half of the twelfth century,

at which time, according to Dr Caius' *History of the University*, published in 1574, this Church, in common with some others in the town, was burnt down in an extensive fire which raged through the town in the year 1174[1]. This statement is so far borne out by the structure itself, for the oldest part of the Church, the western bell-tower, is evidently thirteenth, or at latest fourteenth century work.

The pier arches on the south side of the nave belong to this same (Decorated) period, and as the original chancel of the Church taken down at the last alterations in 1833 was also in this style, a low vaulted structure, in keeping with the western bell-tower (see Engravings), it seems probable that when the Church was re-built after the fire, it consisted simply of a tower, nave and chancel, which no doubt then amply sufficed for the parishioners' requirements.

Later on, in the sixteenth century, the south aisle was added[2], and the two existing transepts thrown out to north and south, to give room for the erection of side altars, of which the Vestry records still extant shew at least four to have existed in the years 1505—1550, viz.: Sepulchre Light; St Erasmus' Light; Our Lady Light; St George's Light.

On the removal of the north transept gallery last year, an interesting relic of one of these side altars was brought to light in the shape of a stone figure of a Bishop with mitre and crozier[3]. It was found in a niche on the east side of the great centre window, partly blocked up by a monument

[1] The historian's words seem to imply that the original structure was built of wood. "Id constat eo anno (1174) fuisse Cantabrigiae implacabile incendium, cujus taedis ut arsit oppidum ita caeterae ecclesiae omnes magna ex parte incensae sunt, *templum vero sanctae Trinitatis totum exustum.* Hinc cautum credo in futurum ut ejus campanile ex duro et quadrato lapide construatur, ne futuris incendiis obnoxium sit." Caius' *Hist. Cantab. Acad.*, p. 9. See also Fuller, *Hist. of Univ.* § i. 24.

[2] Hugh Chapman, Alderman, left £10 by will in 1520 towards making this aisle.

[3] See the Plate facing this page.

STONE FIGURE OF A MITRED ABBOT.
Discovered on the removal of the N. Transept Gallery
in Holy Trinity Church, Cambridge, 1872.

erected to Sir Robert Tabor, who died in 1681, and rose to great eminence as a physician at the courts both of Charles II. and Louis XIV., especially for his successful treatment of fevers, and received the honour of knighthood in consequence. The niche itself is about six feet from the floor, and still bears traces of a somewhat elaborate decoration, of which the tracing exhibited is a sample. It would seem probable that the stone effigy of the saint formerly occupied the niche in which it was found, and that the mutilation inflicted both upon it and the surmounting canopy, of which several pieces were found in the same recess with the figure, was the work of the Parliamentary Commissioner, William Dowsing, who in the winter of the year 1643 (the year it will be remembered of the Westminster Assembly), was appointed under a warrant from the Earl of Manchester for demolishing superstitious ornaments and pictures in the Eastern Counties, and in whose journal, still extant, is recorded the following note of his "visit" to Trinity Church[1].

Trinity Parish, Dec. 25, 1643. Mr Ewy, Churchwarden. We brake downe 80 Popish Pictures, & one of Xt and God the Father above.

The figure is constructed out of the ordinary clunch of the neighbourhood, and is still in very fair preservation.

If, as seems at least probable, it belonged to one of the side altars already referred to, it may possibly represent St Erasmus, a well-known and very favourite object of devotion in the latter half of the fifteenth century, who was Bishop of Campania, and suffered martyrdom in the reign of Maximinian. The three fingers of the right hand are raised as in the act of blessing. I have not been able hitherto to ascertain the meaning of the rounded body, like a bent knee with drapery over it, in front of the figure; nor can I discover any incident in the life of St Erasmus which serves to throw any light upon it[2].

[1] Baker's MSS., Vol. xxxviii. p. 457. Cooper's *Annals*, III. 367.

[2] Since the above was written, some fresh light has been thrown upon

On the 16th July, 1376 (I here follow Mr Cooper), Thomas de Arundel, Bishop of Ely, granted his licence to the Vicar and Parishioners to change the feast of dedication (which then fell in the time of Sturbridge fair, when the parishioners were much occupied with the business thereby occasioned) to the 9th of October.

In 1530 a dispute arose between the Vicar and Parishioners as to the mode of electing the parish officers. At this period there appear to have been elected annually two wardens of the Church, two wardens of the Sepulchre light, two wardens of the Crucifix light, two wardens of St Erasmus' light, two wardens of St George's light, and two wardens of our Lady's light, the latter being women. Dr Cliffe, Chancellor of the diocese, after hearing all parties, made an order that from 14 April, 1531, the election should be made by six persons, viz., two named by the outgoing Churchwardens, two by the four "counsellors" or auditors, and two by the other four nominees. This mode of election continued up to the year 1725, when for some cause unexplained it was discontinued, and the plan adopted of both wardens being chosen in open vestry by the whole body of Parishioners.

Passing from Pre- to Post-Reformation times, we find Trinity Church occupying a distinguished position in the early part of the seventeenth century from its connexion with some of the great Puritan preachers and divines, such as Sibbes, Preston and Goodwin, of which several interesting memorials are to be found in the Parish Vestry books, the records of the Cambridge Town Council, and the writings of cotemporaneous annalists, such as Thomas Fuller.

the subject which makes it appear very doubtful if the figure had anything to do with the Altar to St Erasmus, and points rather to its being the effigy of an Abbot, as indicated by the monastic hood, possibly one of the Abbots of W. Dereham, to which the Church formerly belonged. (See Cooper's *Memorials*, Vol. III. 370.)

The connexion of Sibbes with Trinity Church was as follows.

Some time about the close of the sixteenth century a Lectureship appears to have been established by public subscription in Cambridge, with the object of securing for the *Town* the same opportunities for regular and systematic instruction in the truths of Holy Scripture which had been for some years enjoyed by the University, with such men as Cartwright, Chaderton and Whitaker occupying the Divinity Chairs, and preaching from the pulpit of Great St Mary's. These Lectureships appear to have originated during the age immediately following the Reformation, and to have been intended, like the "prophesyings," for the encouragement of which Abp. Grindal had a few years before brought upon himself Queen Elizabeth's grave displeasure, to meet to some extent the great need that existed for well-instructed parish clergy. The endowments of many town parishes were miserably small, the great tithes having been absorbed by some monastic establishment, the members of which contented themselves with stated periodical visits to the different Churches thus affiliated to them, and left the ministerial duties to be performed by men of very modest attainments, and but little qualified to preach Sermons. In Holy Trinity Parish, for example, the Commissioners appointed under the Commonwealth to enquire into the provision made for preaching ministers, found that the entire endowment consisted of a Vicarage-house worth about 40*s.* per annum, and that the parishioners had no settled minister, or other maintenance for a minister, but this said 40*s.* They consequently recommended that the parish should be united to that of St Andrew the Great, and that the Barnwell part of the parish should be united to Barnwell.

Such being the state of things, it was not to be wondered at that for some time after the Reformation there should have been a paucity of competent clergy, and hence the necessity for

Lecturers who might to some extent supply the lack. Such no doubt was the origin of the Trinity Lectureship, as of others in Cambridge and elsewhere. The name of the Incumbent of that date has been preserved in the following document, which is inscribed between the leaves of the Churchwardens' Accounts for the years 1611 and 1612.

A coppye of the general request of y^e^ inhabitants of o^r^ p'ishe deliv'd To Mr Sibs, publique p'acher of y^e^ Towne of Cambridge.

We whose names ar heerunderwritten, y^e^ Churchewardens and P'ishioners of Trinity p'ishe in Cambridge, with y^e^ ful and fre consent of Mr Jhon Wildbore o^r^ minister, duely considering the extream straytnes & div'se other discomodities concerning y^e^ accustomed place of y^r^ exercises, & desireing as much as in vs lyeth y^e^ more publique benefit of yo^r^ ministery, doe earnestlye entreat you wold be pleesed to accept of o^r^ p'ishe Church which al of vs doe willinglye offer you for & concerning the exercising of yo^r^ ministry & awditorye at the auntient and usual daye & houre. In witnes hereof we have heervnto set to o^r^ hands this 22^nd^ of Noveber 1610.

JOHN WILBORE, Minister.
Edward Almond } Churche-
Thomas Bankes } wardens
and by 29 Parishioners.

That the Lectureship in question was not confined to Trinity Parish appears not only from the designation given to Sibbes of Public Preacher for the *Town* of Cambridge, but also from some loose sheets which have been preserved among the Parish Accounts, and bound up at the end of the volume, in which there is a list given of the subscribers to a fund for erecting a new gallery for the special accommodation of those

non-parishioners who wished to hear the Lecture, these belonging to many different parishes (Note B).

Sibbes was at this time Fellow of St John's and had taken his B A. degree in 1598/99. He was born at Tostock in Suffolk, in 1577, so that he was then 33. Some remarkable men had for some years previously occupied the pulpit of the adjoining parish of St Andrew the Great; such as William Perkins, Fellow of Christ's (d. 1602, aged 44), and his successor, Paul Baines, and it appears to have been through the influence and preaching of the latter that Sibbes was led to embrace those tenets of which he afterwards became so distinguished an exponent. "It pleased God," says the biographer Clarke, "to convert him (i.e. Sibbes) by the ministry of Master Paul Baines, whilest he was Lecturer at St Andrews in Cambridge." Having graduated M.A. in 1602, Sibbes was shortly afterwards ordained, and soon acquired considerable distinction, as in 1608 we find him spoken of as a preacher "of good note." Hence doubtless the request which came to him from the Minister, Churchwardens and Parishioners of Trinity to accept the use of their Parish Church for the delivery of his Sunday afternoon Lecture, previously given elsewhere, possibly in St Clement's Church, where Chaderton had been Lecturer for some 16 years before his appointment to the Mastership of Emmanuel[1], but which evidently was inadequate to contain the numbers who flocked to hear him.

Sibbes' ministry at Trinity was not however of very long duration, for in 1615 the Lectureship was summarily sup-

[1] Dr Chaderton was Lecturer at St Clement's from about 1570 to 1586, and was immediately succeeded, according to Clarke, by Michael Bentley, Fellow of Christ's, but as I find no further allusion to any Lectureship at St Clement's after 1610, it seems not unlikely that it was subsequently transferred to Trinity. (*Lives of Thirty-two English Divines*, Ed. 1677, p. 146.)

pressed[1]; probably by Laud's influence, who was now coming into power, and took no pains to conceal his dislike both to Puritans and their preaching. His cause was however warmly espoused by Sir Henry Yelverton and other powerful friends, and they secured for him the preachership of Gray's Inn, which he seems to have retained till his death. He was not however entirely cut off from Cambridge, for several of his published Sermons appear to have been preached in the University pulpit, and in 1626 he was elected Master of St Katharine's Hall.

The Trinity Lectureship thus ceased for a time, but after a while, Clarke tells us in his *Life of Preston*, upon the urgent solicitations of the townsmen, the Bishop of Ely (Dr Andrewes) consented to license to it a Mr John Jeffries, Fellow of Pembroke Hall, who preached there some years, but on the latter's promotion to the living of Dunmow the post again became vacant in 1624, and there then ensued a very keen contest for the post. The townsmen and subscribers to the Lectureship, among whom we find the name of the celebrated carrier, Hobson, wished to elect Dr Preston, then Master of the newly-founded College of Emmanuel, and successor to the distinguished Dr Chaderton, and "to make it better worth his acceptance," as Fuller informs us in his history of the University, "they agreed to raise the stipend from £40 or £50 to £80 a year." He was opposed by Paul Micklethwaite, Fellow of Sidney, who was supported by the Bp. of Ely, and by all the heads of Colleges. "The

[1] In accordance with the following Royal mandate: "We commaund that no new erected Lectures or Sermons be permitted in any parish of the Towne that may draw away Scholars from Catechising"—hinc illæ lachrymæ!—"& Divine Service on Sundayes or Holy Dayes, or on the week days, being no holy day, to withdrawe Scholars from their attendance at the exercises of Learning, Lectures, Disputations or Declamations, either publique or private." It was further enacted that no Fellow of any College should be permitted to read any ordinary Lecture or to preach in any parish of the Town, except St Mary's, without the Bp. of Ely's license. (Cooper's *Annals*, III. 130. See also Grosart's *Life of Sibbes*, p. xl.)

contest," says Fuller, "grew high and hard, insomuch as the Court was engaged therein," on both sides, in fact, for while the heir-apparent and the Duke of Buckingham favoured Preston, the King, acting no doubt under Laud's influence, was equally anxious to prevent his appointment. "Many admired," continues Fuller, "that Dr Preston should stickle so much for so small a matter as an annual matter of 80 pounds, issuing out of more than thrice 80 purses. But his party pleaded his zeal, not to get gold but to do good in the place, where (such the confluence of scholars to the Church) he might 'generare Patres', beget begetters, which made him to waive the bishopric of Gloucester (now void and offered unto him) in comparison of this Lecture. At Dr Preston's importunity the Duke of Buckingham interposing his power secured it unto him. Thus was he at the same time preacher to two places, (though neither had cure of souls legally annexed,) Lincoln's Inn, and Trinity Church at Cambridge. As Elisha," —the quaint old historian goes on to add—"cured the waters of Jericho by going forth to the spring-head and casting in salt there, so was it the design of this Doctor for the better propagation of his principles, to infuse them into these fountains, the one of Law, the other of Divinity. And some conceive that those doctrines by him then delivered, have since had their use and application[1]."

Preston must have been in every respect a remarkable man. Born of good family, he was educated at Queens' College, and "such was his extraordinary learning and parts," says Middleton[2], "that at the age of 22 he was admitted Fellow of his College. He studied almost everything, even judicial astronomy, and the planetary nature and power of herbs and plants (!!), and attained to such a knowledge in simples and compounding

[1] Fuller's *History of the University*, Ed. Prickett and Wright, p. 309.
[2] *Biographia Evangelica*, Ed. 1816, Vol. II. p. 460.

of medicines, that it used to be said if he had failed in divinity he might have been another Butler"—referring to an eminent physician of that period. He was a good logician and an able disputant, and had a principal part allotted to him in the disputations held at the Commencement before King James I. when he visited Cambridge, shortly after his accession. The king was so well pleased on this occasion, and with him particularly, that he determined soon to pay Cambridge a second visit, and Preston had thus an opportunity afforded him for raising himself to favour and dignity, which, to the great surprise of his friends, he was at little pains to improve, the reason being that, as his biographer remarks, "having found the *treasure in the field* of the gospel, he wisely sold all things that stood in competition with its purchase." He appears to have been a most popular Tutor, and a no less popular Preacher, his lectures in Divinity given in the Chapel of Queens' College, and subsequently in St Botolph's Church, being largely resorted to, both by students of other Colleges and by townsmen. Trinity Church was as a natural consequence thronged, as soon as he succeeded to the Lectureship, and this not by townsmen only, but by undergraduates and senior members of the University also, as the following document shews, which I find written on the blank reverse pages of the Churchwardens' accounts for the year 1626.

"Whereas, such p'sons as are interessed in the seates of the gallerie of this Church to sit there dureinge the time of the lecture, having paid for the same to the p'ish, and yet notwithstanding are displaced by others haveinge not interest there, to their greivance and wronge; and unles redresse herein be speedely had, such p'sons soe greived will withdraw their cotribucions from the said lecture. For remedie whereof it is ordered and agreed unto by a joynt consent of all the p'ishioners, that from henceforth noe p'son nor p'sons of what

condyc'on soever except such who have interest in the seats shal be permytted to goe up into the galleries untyl the bell have done tollinge; and then yf any place be voyd or may be spared, to p'mytt in the first place grave divines, and after them such others as shall be lyked of by such as shall keep the dore, and yf any who have interest in the seates shall bringe any stranger to be placed there, and will have him to have his place in the gallerie, then such p'son bringing such stranger to keepe belowe and take his place els where for such tyme; and yf any person interessed in the seats doe not repair to the Church before the bell have done tollinge then he to lose his place for that tyme.

It is likewise ordered by ye like consent that such p'sons as have interest in any of ye seates in ye Church shall not have it particularly to themselves to place and displace whour they will, but only to have ye use of the seats during the tyme of the lecture for theire owne p'sons, and to receave into them such other of the parish, yf any such come, as shall belonge to such seate, and such others likewise as are people of qualitye who doe contribute to ye lecture, and not to receave any children into their seats. It is further ordered that noe seats eyther in ye galleries or in ye Church shall be hereafter disposed of to any without the consent of the parishioners at a publiq meetinge in the Church."

This was the last preferment Dr Preston had, and he retained it till his death, which took place two years afterwards (July, 1628), at the early age of 41. His stern self-discipline and untiring labours told doubtless severely upon a naturally delicate constitution. One of his last conscious acts was to pray that God would raise up fit men to occupy the places he was leaving: for the College, that it might continue a flourishing nursery of religion and learning; for Lincoln's Inn, that God would from time to time furnish it with able preachers; and

that He would also provide for his lecture at Cambridge, which had cost him so much trouble to obtain[1].

Preston's successor in the Lectureship was Thomas Goodwin, who afterwards seceded to the Independents, and was during the Commonwealth President of Magdalen College, Oxford. It was during his tenure of the office that, two years later (May 11th, 1630), the following letter relating to it was addressed to the Vice-Chancellor by Dudley Carleton, Viscount Dorchester, one of the principal Secretaries of State.

To My Rev^{d}. Frend Mr Dr Buts, Vice-Chan., &c.

Sr,

By reason of his Majesties late directions concerning Lecturers, that they should read Divine Service according to the Liturgy before their Lectures, and the afternoone Sermons to be turned into Catechising, some doubt hath been made of the continuance of the Lecture at Trinity Church in Cambr: which for many yeares past hath been held at one of the clocke in the afternoone, without Divine Service read before yt, & cannot be continued at that hower yf the whole Service should be read before the Sermon begin. Whereupon his Majestie hath been informed that the same is a publick Lecture, serving for all the Parishes in that Town (being 14 in number), & that the University Sermon is held at the same tyme, which would be troubled with a greater resort than can be well permitted yf the Towne Sermon should be discontinued; & that the same being held at the accustomed hower, there will be tyme enough left after that Sermon ended, and the Auditory departed thence, to their own parish Churches, as well for Divine Service as for Catechising in that & all other Churches in the Towne, which could not well be yf Divine Service should be read in that Church before the Lecture; besides the Catechising in that

[1] Clarke's *Lives*, p. 113.

Church would hereby be lost. Upon these Motives his Majestie being graciously pleased that the said Lecture may be continued at the accustomed hower, & in manner as yt hath been heretofore used, hath given me in charge to make knowne to yow his Royall pleasure accordingly, but under this caution that not only Divine Service but Catechising be duely read and used after that Sermon ended both in that & the rest of the Churches of the Towne; & that the Sermon doe end in convenient tyme for that purpose, soe as no pretext be made either for the present or in future tyme by color of the foresaid Sermon to hinder either Divine Service or Catechising which his Majestie is resolved to have maintained. And so I bidd you hartily farewell & rest

Yours to doe you Service,

From Whitehall the 11th of May, 1630.[1] DORCHESTER.

There is no doubt that at this time the Trinity Lectureship had not only become a well-established institution, but was also felt to be an important power in Cambridge. A further illustration of this is to be found in a poem of Randolph's on "Importunate Dunnes," in which, after a curious malediction on Cambridge tradesmen, he adds:

> And if this vexe 'um not, I'le grieve the Towne
> With this curse: States, put Trinity-Lecture downe.
> RANDOLPH'S *Poems*, Ed. 1640, p. 119.

In 1632 Goodwin, after holding the office of Lecturer at Trinity for four years, was also presented by the Crown to the Vicarage of the same Church (Rymer's *Foedera*). He did not however retain this preferment long, for in the very next year he seceded from the Church of England and joined the Independents, having become as it would seem thoroughly disgusted at Laud's high-handed way of dealing with the Puritans, and the deliberate profanation of the Lord's Day authorized by the re-enact-

[1] From the Baker MS. xxvii. 137.

ment of the Declaration for Sports[1], while his hands were being further tied by the increasing stringency with which conformity was pressed. On Goodwin's secession, Dr Sibbes, now Master of Katharine Hall, appears to have succeeded him as Vicar, his presentation bearing date 21 Nov., 1633, and he doubtless held the Lectureship also, but his tenure of the office was also for a very brief period, for he died on the 5th of July, 1635, at the age of 58. Both Lectureship and Incumbency having thus again become vacant, a certain Mr R. Tourney is stated to have succeeded to the latter, but he too appears to have only held it for a year, for in May 1636 he was succeeded by a Mr John Howorth, about whom history is silent.

The only other records extant relating to the Lectureship, that I have been able to light upon, are notices in the Cambridge Corporation Common Day Book, as given by Mr Cooper, as follows:

On Aug. 17th, 1657, the Mayor was voted by the Corporation a yearly allowance of 20 marks "for and towards the entertainment of Ministers such as he shall think fitt to invite to dynner upon the lecture days holden at Trinity Church on Wednesday in every weeke for & during the continuance of the said Wednesday Lecture there." This, it will be observed, was in the days of the Commonwealth. It is also mentioned in Birch's Life of Abp. Tillotson, that whilst at Cambridge he was a very attentive hearer of sermons, of which in that time there was both great and good store, he generally hearing four every Lord's Day, besides the weekly Lecture at Trinity Church on Wednesdays, which was preached by a combination of the

[1] Comp. Short's *History of the Church*, § 559. In confirmation of this I also quote two curious entries from the Trinity Churchwardens' accounts for 1635.

"Paid for the book reading of Recreations read by Mr Wright 5*s.* 0*d.*
Paid to Mr Austen for a presentment for not reading the booke of liberty that yeare ..... 2*s.* 0*d.*"

worthiest and best preachers in the University at that time, all of them Fellows of Colleges[1].

In 1660, so runs the Camb. Corporation Common Day Book, Thos. Senior, B.D., was chosen Town Lecturer, to preach every Lord's Day before the Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses at Trinity Church, at one o'clock in the afternoon, with a salary of 20 marks per annum. Further notices of a similar arrangement appear at intervals, from 1667 to 1756, the salary varying from £6 to £10 per annum[2]. In 1756 it was finally ruled that the Mayor for the time being should appoint his own Chaplain. The Lectureship from that date seems to have become a mere appendage to the Vicarage, the appointment resting in the hand of the Subscribers and Parishioners. In 1782 the appointment to the living of the Rev. Chas. Simeon, Fellow of King's College, opened out a new era in the history of the Church, and raised it once more, after an interval of 150 years, to even a more important place than it had occupied even in the days of Sibbes, Preston and Goodwin.

NOTE A.

[The following Note has since been kindly supplied by Mr Bradshaw, in elucidation of the various spellings of the name of St Erasmus, and in reference to the conjecture subsequently hazarded by Prof. Skeat (see *Proceedings of* December 1) that the *Rosamour* of the years 1509—11 might be a corruption of the Provençal Rocamadour.]

The first volume of the Trinity Parish Churchwardens' accounts extends from 1504—05 to 1530—31. After this no accounts are entered till 1557—58, and this with two portions of 1558—59 and 1562—63, which were never properly entered, conclude the volume.

[1] Cooper's *Annals*, Vol. III. p. 468.

[2] Cooper's *Annals*, III. 526. These appointments however were not, as Mr Cooper seems to think, appointments to the Lectureship itself, but only to the post of Chaplain to the Mayor and Corporation, which for 100 years or more appears to have been usually, if not exclusively, held by the Trinity Lecturer.

The Light of Saint Erasmus occurs in every account from 1504—05 to 1529—30 inclusive; but except elections of wardens of the Light, and receipts of money from them, or a note of the stock of wax in their keeping, the only entries which mention the name are these:

1507—08: Item paied to a Glasier for mendyng of the Glase wyndowes and for takyng down of two wyndowes on the south syde next Seynt Trosomus ..... vj^{s}.

1513—14: Item payed to the glasyer for settyng vp the pane of Glasse next Seynt Herasme ..... iiij^{d}.

1518—19 (among the Receipts): Et de Thoma Johnson et Thoma Robynson Gardianis luminis sancti Jherasime ..... vj^{s}. viij^{d}.

in factura vnius le beme[1] coram eodem ymagine ..... j beme.

This last entry may be compared with the following entry in the accounts of 1526—27:

Item payed to M^{r} D^{r} Manfeld for a pece of tymber of xviij foot seint Georges beame ..... iij^{s}. ix^{d}.

All the accounts mention a Light of St George, and in 1506—07 there is a separate account of receipts and payments connected with setting up the image of St George.

From the entry in 1507—08 it seems probable that the altar of St Erasmus stood against the east wall of the south transept at the end furthest from the nave. This may be enough to render it unlikely that the effigy discovered in the corresponding portion of the *North* transept is that of St Erasmus, even apart from other considerations. But that there was an altar of St Erasmus in the church is, I think, beyond all possible question. The clergy were no doubt many of them ignorant in Henry the Seventh's reign. But it is impossible to conceive that

[1] The *beme* here referred to seems to have formed the super-altar. In Bp. Alnwick's *Novum Registrum Ecclesiae Lincolniensis* the Treasurer is directed to provide on certain festivals "sexdecim cereos super trabem secus altare," on others "unum cereum super trabem altaris," and on others again "tres cereos super trabem altaris." So the Light of St Erasmus would be *super trabem*, on the beam, which would be *secus altare*, behind the altar, and yet *coram ymagine*, burning before the image of the Saint.

people should even then have confounded a Saint with a place of pilgrimage, as has been suggested. From one cause or another a great devotion to St Erasmus was developed towards the end of the fifteenth century. In a little printed Dutch prayer-book of 1484, in the University Library, there is a written supplement of devotions to St Erasmus. Again in Caxton's Golden Legend, which he finished so far as the text was concerned in 1483, there is no mention of St Erasmus; but in the re-issue printed about 1489, the legend of St Erasmus is added to fill up the vacant space at the end, and occupies the last place in all the subsequent editions. These are only two instances out of many, but they are enough.

As for the spelling of the name, it is undoubtedly much corrupted. But this is the case with other names, and cannot excite surprise. It occurs 33 times in English and 31 times in Latin, and the following statement of the entries, written in order, only separating the English from the Latin, may be of use, beyond the immediate purpose of this notice, by serving to show what sort of corruptions were prevalent.

These are the sixty-four entries in the accounts, so far as the name of the saint is concerned:

	English.		Latin.
1504—05	Sent Resemos leght (1)	1509—10	Sancti Heresemi (13)
	Sent Tresymos leght (2)	1511—12	Sc'i Herasami (15)
1505—06	Sent Thressymos leght (3)		Sc'i Herasimi (16)
1506—07	Seynt Tresemos leght (4)	1512—13	Sc'i Herazame (18)
1507—08	Seint Trosomus (5)		Sc'i Herazame (19)
	Seint Trasesomus lyte (6)	1513—14	Sc'i Herasme (21)
1508—09	Sent Tresemos leght (7)		Sc'i Herasme (22)
	Seynt Rasamus light (8)		Sc'i Herasme (23)
	of Seynt Rasamus (9)	1514—15	Sc'i Herasime (25)
	Saynt Rasemus light (10)	1515—16	Sc'i Herasseme (27)
	Seynt Rasemes light (11)	1517—18	Sc'i Jherasime (29)
1509—10	Seynt Rosamour liȝt (12)		Sc'i Jherasime (30)
1510—11	Seynt Rasomour liȝt (14)		Sc'i Jheraseme (32)
1511—12	Seynt Herasme light (17)	1518—19	Sc'i Jherasime (33)
1513—14	Seynt Herasme (20)		Sc'i Jherasime (34)

	English.	Latin.
1514—15	Seint Herasime lyght (24)	
1515—16	Saint Herasme (26)	
1517—18	Seint Rasyme light (28)	
	Sancte Jherasime (31)	
1519—20	Seint Jheresme light (37)	
	of Seint Jherame (38)	
1520—21	Seynt Rasamus light (40)	
	of Seynt Jherane (41)	
1521—22	Seynt Erasmus ligh (43)	
1522—23	Seynt Erasemyes light (45)	
1523—24	Seynt Rosamours light (47)	
1524—25	Seynt Roseamours light (49)	
	Seynt Errassme light (50)	
1525—26	Seynt Erasmours lyght (52)	
1526—27	Seynt Erasmurs lyght (54)	
1527—28	Seint Erasmus lyght (56)	
	Scancte Erasymus lyght (58)	
1529—30	Scancte Erasymus lyght (62)	
		Sc'i Jherasime (35)
		Sc'i Jherasime (36)
1519—20		Jhereseme (39)
1520—21		Jhereseme (42)
1521—22		Sc'i Erasimi (44)
1522—23		Sc'i Erasemi (46)
1523—24		Sc'i Erasmi (48)
1524—25		Sc'i Erassimi (51)
1525—26		Sc'i Erasimi (53)
1526—27		Sc'i Erasmi (55)
1527—28		Sc'i Erasemi (57)
1528—29		Sc'i Erazami (59)
		Sc'i Erazami (60)
		Sc'i Erasmi (61)
1529—30		Sc'i Erasmi (63)
		Sc'i Erasmi (64)

In the earliest entries, which are in the handwriting of Harry Cresswell, one of the Churchwardens, the first syllable of the name is dropped and the *t* of the word *Saint* attracted, as we are told in the case with the word *tawdry*, derived from *Saint Awdrey*. Later on, we find the first syllable, but it is aspirated, as is too common now. Still further on, the aspirate is turned into an I or J, as we hear many people say *years* for *ears*. The *a* of the second syllable becomes either thinned into *e* or broadened into *o*. The *s*, which even we sound as *z*, we sometimes find written *z*. The *sm* is very commonly separated by a vowel sound, as we often hear now in such words as schis'm. Finally the *us* at the end of the word is sometimes found *-urs* or even *-ours*. But it is of course a silent *r*; and the greatest offender in this way, Edward Heynes, who was Bursars' clerk of King's College, himself writes it with perfect correctness when he writes the word in Latin. The forms in Jhe- are almost exclusively in the handwriting of John Thirleby who was town-clerk of Cambridge, and father of Thomas Thirleby who was Bishop of Ely.

But enough, and perhaps more than enough, has been said to throw some light upon the altar of St Erasmus. No doubt the whole volume of accounts will soon be accessible in an easily legible form.

H. B.

NOTE B.

The following is the Gallery Account, as given in the Churchwardens' Accounts for the year 1616—17.

(Leaf 132ᵇ.) [Defaced and illegible.].....g[a]llery.

The accompte of Edward Almond seene and reade before the parishioners uppon Lowe Sundy. Aprill 27. 1617.

(132ᵇᵃ.) Receiued of these undernamed of our owne parishe these severall sommes.

Of Mr Woodward			
Of Mr Greene			
Of Mr Amy	4ˡⁱ	00ˢ	0ᵈ
Of John Cooper		10	0
Of Mr Beeton		10	00
Of Marke Nitingall		10	00
Of Thomas Lovington		10	00
Of Thomas Oliver		10	00
Of John Hurst		10	00
Of William Rowland		10	00
Of Mathew Maddy		10	00
Of Thomas Bankes		3	4
Of Stephen Wilmot		3	4
Of John Harper		4	00
Of ffraunces Shilborne		6	8
Of Mrs Smyth for her sonne William Richerdson		6	00
Great St Maries parishe.			
Of Mr North Harison		13	4
Of Mr Sparrowe		13	4
Of Mr Baldwyn		13	4
Of Mr Cradocke	2ˡⁱ	00	00
Of Mr Allen	1ˡⁱ	00	00
Of Mr Williams	1ˡⁱ	00	00
Of Leonard Greene		13	4
Of Tho. Perkyns		13	4
Of Tho. Jury		13	4
Of Thomas Beart		13	4
Of Mr Prior		13	4
Of Materius Pepis		13	4
Of John Pepis bycause he had given to the old gallery		3	4
Of John Tennant		13	4
Of Edmond Porter		13	4
Of Tho. Crab		13	4
Of Edward Armyn		10	00
Of Edward Gibson		6	8
Of James Preyst		6	8
Of Obedia Perkins		6	8
(132ᵇᵇ.)			
Saint Andrewes parishe.			
Of Mr John Atkinson	1ˡⁱ	12	00
Of Henry Dowinge		14	00
Of William Hammond		13	4
Of Richard Ranew		13	4
Of Nathaniell Harding		13	4
Of John Bawd		10	00
Of John Wilson		6	8
Of Henry Wilson		6	8
Michaell parrishe.			
Of Mr Pincase	17ˢ		8ᵈ
Of John Wheler		6	8
Of Georg Burton		6	00

Allallowes parishe.

Of William Archer	13	4	
Of Roberte fflintofte	13	4	
Of John Johnson	6	6	
Of goodman Chambers	13	4	

Clement parishe.

Mr Tompson	1li	00	00
Of Mr Badcocke	13	4	
Of William Collett	13	4	

(194aa.)

Saint Peters parishe and St Gyles.

Of Roberte Twelves	13s	4d
Of Mathew Dennys	13	4
Of Mr Smyth that maried Mr Smythes daughter	10	00

Saint Edwardes parishe.

Of Michaell Watson	13s	4d
Of Tho. Wilson butcher	13	4
Of Tho. Hall butcher	10	0
Of William Wilebore	13	4
Of John Newton	6	8

Bennet Parrishe.

Of Mr Davers	iili	00	00
Of Mr Hobson	ili	00	00
Of Mr Hutton	10	00	
Of Mr Haslup of Trumpington	10	00	
Of Thos Robinson Shomaker	6	8	

[*Total* £38. 13*s*. 6*d*.]

The following entry shews the allotment of seats to the different subscribers.

(194ab.)

Placeid in the turn [ ]

[*In the* 1] *seate*

1 Mr Allen
Mr Pincase
Mr Tompson

In the 2 *seate*

2 Mr North Harison
Mr Baldwyn
Edward Almond

In the 3 *seate*

3 Goodman Chambers
William Collett
William Wilebore

In the great gallery

1o

Mr Woodward
Mr Sparrowe
Henry Downinge
Thomas Bankes
William Williams

—

Mr Greene
Mr Amye
Mr Beeton
Mr Watson
Mr Smyth
Mr Wilson

2d *seat*

John Badcock
Roberte Twelves
Mathew Dennys
Mr Pryor
John Cooper
William Rowland
Marke Nitingall

—

Leonard Greene
Thomas Jvrye
Thomas Perkins
Materius Pepys
Richard Ranew
Thomas Lovington
William Hamont
Thomas Oliver

(194ba.) [3d *seat*]

William Archer
John Pepys

Stephen Wilmote
Mathew Maddy
Thomas Beart
Thomas Crab

—

Roberte fflintofte
John Tennant
Nathaniell Hardinge
Edmond Porter
John Hurst

4 seat

Mr Haslupp
Thomas Robinson

5 seat

Edward Armyn
Thomas Hall

—

ffraunces Shilborne
John Bawde

6 seat

Henry Wilson
John Wheeler

North corner

John Wilson
George Burton
Edward Gibson
James Preist
Obediah Perkyns

South corner

John Newton
John Harper
William Richerson Jun.
John Johnson
William Perkyns

(194[b].) These seuerall sommes of mony vnderwritten were disbursed by Edward Almond afore said.

Payed to Henry Man according to the agreem[t] made with him to ende & finishe the new gallerie as its done for stuffe & workmanship & for bording the Belfree	20[li]	0	0
payed for borde lath & lyme hare & nayles about the passage and galery	2[li]	14[s]	10[d]
payed the masons for their worke about the gallery	2[li]	2[s]	3[d]
payed Henry Man for dayes workes for his men abut the passage & belfrey besides the former bargaine		18[s]	8[d]
payed for matting		15[s]	3[d]
payed for 4 casementes	1[li]	18[s]	0[d]
payed for the two Instrumentes for aucthorisinge the building of the said gallery & other charges about the same	2[li]	11[s]	2[d]
payed for an hower glasse	0[li]	0[s]	10[d]
payed the Smyth for keyes & other charges	1[li]	13[s]	9[d]
payed for allowances in bread & beere to the workemen		14[s]	10[d]
payed for whitinge the gallery		4[s]	00
payed for oyling the wall in the gallery		6[s]	8[d]
payed Mr Lovington for glasing the 4 new casementes & for fitting other glasse & taking the glasse downe that was taken downe		12[s]	0
payed the freemasons for mending the Arche over the chancell dore		3[s]	00
payed for nayles and Cord for the scaffold		3[s]	10[d]
payed the Churchewardens for Mr Davers, Tho: Wilson, William Rowland ffraunces Shilborne John Bawde & John Wheeler	4[li]	6[s]	8[d]
Summa	39[li]	5[s]	9[d].

The Faculty for erecting this gallery still exists, bearing date March 4, 1615-16, and runs as follows:

Universis et Singulis Christi fidelibus ad quos praesentes literae nostrae testimoniales pervenerint, aut quos infra scripta tangunt seu tangere poterunt quo modo libet in futurum BARNABE GOCHE[1] legum Doctor, officialis venerabilis viri ROBERTI TINLEY sacrae Theologiae professoris dñi Archidiaconi Eliensis legitime constitutus salutem in dño sempiternam ac fidem indubiam praesentibus adhibendam.

AD universitatis vestrae notitiam deducimus et deduci volumus per praesentes: QUOD cum ex testimonio fide digno et inquisitione diligenti adhibita nobis in hac parte constet et luculenter compertum sit ecclesiam parochialem Sanctae Trinitatis infra villam Cantabrigiae, in Com' Cantabr' dioc' Elien' nostraeque jurisdictionis, ob numerosam inhabitantium sive parochianorum ibidem multitudinem nimis esse arctam angustam et incapacem ad populum illuc diebus dominicis et festivis aliisque temporibus divina sacrasque conciones ibidem audiendi genua flectendi et orandi gratia confluentem concipiendum;

CUMQUE ulterius nobis monstratum sit ex credibili relatione quorundam EDWARDI BETON et WILLELMI RICHARDSON gardianorum sive oeconomorum modernorum ejusdem ecclesiae, RICHARDI GREEN et RICHARDI HARPER inquisitorum, necnon discretorum virorum WILLELMI WOODWARD et EDWARDI ALMOND et complurium aliorum ibidem habitantium quod diruendo sive permutando quoddam statiariolum sive parvulum tabulatum campanili ejusdem ecclesiae annexum et constructum, et loco ejusdem magis spatiosum statiarium sive tabulatum (a campanili praedicto versus cancellam ejusdem ecclesiae ex australi latere navis ecclesiae praedictae tredecim pedes, et ex boreali latere navis ejusdem ecclesiae triginta tres pedes plus minus longum, latum vero triginta pedes aut eo circiter) aedificando, opportunum huic malo remedium commode provideri posse. Ac proinde ut hoc liberius proficiatur, a nobis instanter petierunt, quatenus nos praedicti veteris statiarioli diruendi vel mutandi et loco ejusdem aliud spatiosius, prout supra exprimitur, aedificandi et ponendi, sed etiam idem, cum structum et erectum fuerit, sub modo et forma inferius descriptis et recitatis custodiendi allocandi assignandi et disponendi facultatem et potestatem concedere dignaremur;

NOS VERO hujusmodi petitionibus favorabiliter annuentes et tam boni et pii operis expeditionem cupientes, vetus statiarium praedictum diruendi aut mutandi et aliud longitudinis et latitudinis mensuram supra expressam continens loco ejusdem aedificandi et construendi idemque sic constructum populis sive parochianis ad ecclesiam sanctae Trinitatis praedictam diebus dominicis seu festivis aliisque temporibus divina sacrasque conciones ibidem

[1] Master of Magdalene.

audiendi et orandi gratia confluentibus et advenientibus allocandi assignandi, necnon idem clausum et obseratum temporibus opportunis custodiendi; Vobis praefatis Edwardo Beton et Willelmo Richardson gardianis sive oeconomis ecclesiae praedictae et Richardo Green et Richardo Harper inquisitoribus modernis necnon vestris in officiis gardianorum oeconomorum aut inquisitorum successoribus necnon Willelmo Woodward et Edwardo Almond parochianis praedictis facultatem et potestatem quantum in nobis est et jura patiuntur et non aliter neque alio modo dedimus et concessimus ac damus ac concedimus per praesentes. Vosque praefatos Edwardum Beton, Willelmum Richardson, Richardum Green et Richardum Harper gardianos vel oeconomos ecclesiae praedictae et inquisitores modernos vestrosque successores in officiis eisdem necnon Willelmum Woodward et Edwardum Almond ejusdem statiarii sive tabulati et sedilium in eodem collocandorum custodes et dispensatores nominamus ordinamus facimus et constituimus per praesentes. Proviso semper quod hoc Licentia nostra et potestas in eadem concessa praefatis Willelmo Woodward et Edwardo Almond durante beneplacito nostro tantummodo valeat. Proviso etiam quod haec nova structura ne sit ecclesiae praedictae deformitati nec sedilibus antiquis nec luci fenestrarum detrimento.

In cujus rei testimonium Sigillum officialitatis nostrae praesentibus apponi fecimus. Dat' Cantabrigiae quarto die mensis Martii anno domini juxta cursum et computationem Ecclesiae Anglicanae millesimo sexcentesimo decimo quinto 1615.

Jacobus Hussey, *Registrarius.*

From the measurements given above, it would appear that this first gallery ever erected in the Church must have extended over the Western half of the Northern side of the Nave, an excellent position no doubt for hearing the preacher, but scarcely, one would have thought, fulfilling the condition that it should not be any deformity to the Church!

VTERE FELIX

Olla found at Guilden Morden Cambs in 1879
drawn to the size of the original

XXV. Description of an Inscribed Vase, lately found at Guilden Morden, Cambridgeshire. Communicated by the Rev. S. S. Lewis, M.A., Corpus Christi College. (With one Plate.)

[November 17, 1879.]

The terra-cotta vase, of which an engraving in chromo-lithograph to the original size is given on the opposite page, was found, together with much plain pottery, on the site of a Roman cemetery at Guilden Morden (near the source of the Cam) in this county early in October of the present year [1879]. It is particularly interesting on account of its ornament, which consists of wreaths of olive and laurel enclosing the inscription VTERE · FELIX painted around in white letters $\frac{7}{8}$ in. long.

It may be noted that the same legend, which may be compared with Macbeth's kindly aspiration,

> "Now good digestion wait on appetite,
> And health on both,"

appears to be read on a pewter *lanx*[1] found at Welney in Norfolk, in 1864, which is still in the possession of the land-owner

[1] Described in the *Archæological Journal*, Vol. xxvii.

Mr Albert Goodman of St Ives, Hunts, and also on a carnelian[1] intaglio seal found at Kilbride near Glasgow, on a silver spoon found at Augst (the ancient *Augusta Rauracorum*) near Basle, on a bronze patera figured by Buonarotti, and on a silver votive dish found at Perugia, and in the form VTERE · FELEX (*sic*) it occurs on a bronze *fibula*[2] of fifth century style found in the bank of the Seine just below Asnières; but of its occurrence on pottery I have not succeeded in finding any previous example. The adverb FELICITER however has in western Europe been not seldom found on the red (generally called Samian) ware in conjunction with national Gallic names, such as GABALIBVS, REMIS, SEQVANIS[3].

On a fragment of a similar vessel[4] found at Orange in Provence is seen a hen with her three chickens; she carries in her beak a wheat-ear and one of her young on her back: above is a branch and the doubly significant legend MIHI · ET · M(eis) FELICITER. The same idea is delicately varied in FRVERE . ME, which is read on a Gallo-Roman ring lately discovered in Lower Normandy, and in the following inscription, engraved in six consecutive lines around a gold hair-pin[5] of tenth-century Byzantine work, now in the Louvre Museum,

[1] Published by Alexander Gordon in the *Itinerarium Septentrionale* (page 118). In a more tender sense these words occur in the speech—*sit tibi imperium meum cum hac puella concessum, utere ea felix* (*Greg. Tur.* VI. 30)—with which the dying Tiberius II. made Mauricius at once his son-in-law and successor.

[2] Figured by de Caylus *Recueil d'Antiquités*, page 257, pl. XCIV. 2: so also on a silver spoon quoted by Mommsen, *Inscrr. Helv.* CCCXLIII. 2. For this and other valuable suggestions I am indebted to the kindness of MM. le Baron Pichon and Edm. Leblant.

[3] See M. Anatole de Barthélemy's Remarks on *Vases Sigillés et Épigraphiques* in the *Gazette Archéologique* for 1877, pages 177—181.

[4] Published by W. Fröhner, *Musées de France*, page 66, pl. XV. no. 4.

[5] So I would venture to call it, but it has been figured and described as an ear-pick by M. E. Miller in the *Revue Archéologique* for July, 1879, pp. 39—45.

✠ Υ Γ Ι Ε Ν
Ο Υ C Α Χ Ρ
ω Κ Υ Ρ Α Κ
Α Λ ω Ν Κ Ε
Ρ ω Ν Α Π Ο
Λ Α Υ C Η C

i.e. *ὑγιένουσα χρῶ κύρα· καλῶν καιρῶν ἀπολαύσῃς, salva utere, domina: bonis temporibus fruaris.*

"Such vases," as we learn from Dr Birch[1], "were never made "from moulds, but by the process called *barbotine* by depositing "on the surface of the vase after it had left the lathe, from "a small vessel or tube, masses of semi-fluid clay, which were "slightly modelled with a tool into the required shape. The "glaze and colour are supposed to have been produced by "smothering the vases when in the furnace with the smoke of "the kiln, and depositing at the same time the carbon on the "surface of the heated vases, and thus giving them a black "glaze."

In the Museum at York three vases of this style are preserved: but careful study has as yet elicited no satisfactory meaning from their inscriptions.

Both from the form of the letters and the discovery of well-preserved coins of early Caesars in the immediate neighbourhood I feel disposed to assign the date of this particular vase to the first century of our era. It is now in the possession of Mr William Andrews of the neighbouring parish of Litlington, where excavations conducted by the late Dr Webb have in past years yielded a rich harvest of Roman remains to the collection of our Society.

The discovery last year [1878] in a cottager's garden at Litlington of the very well preserved "second brass" coin of

[1] *History of Ancient Pottery* (second edition), page 576.

Nero, which is figured below to the original size, enables us to approximate to a superior limit of date for the Roman occupation of this neighbourhood.

Obv. NERO · CLAVDIVS · CAESAR · AVG(ustus) GER(manicus) P(ontifex) M(aximus) TR(ibunitia) P(otestate) IMP(erator).

Rev. S(enatus) C(onsulto). Victory rising in the air, and holding a shield on which is inscribed SPQR.

Since making the above communication, the discovery at Litlington, in January, 1881, of a Roman mosaic pavement and hypocaust, in a garden next to the site of Dr Webb's excavations, has been announced by the Rev. T. J. Sanderson, Vicar of the parish, to whose kindness I am also indebted for the loan of the coin which is figured above; and I have had the pleasure of examining a thin piece of Roman bronze, bearing the inscription VTERE · FELIX in letters $\frac{1}{8}$ in. long, which

is figured below to the original size. It was discovered on the 2nd of April, 1880, by a boy while digging for bones just within the southern wall of the Roman Station on South Shields Law, and appears to have served as the handle of a *simpulum* or some similar vessel; it has happily passed into the valuable collection of Mr Robert Blair of South Shields.

I have also to thank Mr Thompson Watkin, of Liverpool, for the following note.

"On a walling stone found at the Roman Station at Norton near New Malton (Yorkshire) in 1814, and now preserved in the York Museum, is this inscription:

FELICITER SIT
GENIO LO ⊂ C ⊂ I *sic*
SERVVLE · VTERE
FELIX TABERN
AM · AVREFI
CINAM

At Chesterton (Hunts), adjoining the Roman Station at Castor (Northants), there were found, about 1751, some slips of what Gough in Camden's *Britannia*, Vol. II., p. 257 (taken from "Minutes of the Society of Antiquaries"), describes as 'white wood, and very thin' (probably bone tesseræ); one or more of them was inscribed,

ΑΛΩΙΙΓΥ VTERE TA ⊕ FELIX"

No. XXVI.

MAP OF THE PART OF CAM
S. JOHN BAPTIST'S CHURCH

XXVI. History of the Church of S. John Baptist, Cambridge; commonly called S. John Zachary.

Communicated by J. W. Clark, M.A., Esq., Trinity College. (With one Plate.)

[December 1, 1879.]

The parish of S. Edward in Cambridge attained its present dimensions in the middle of the 15th century, by the union of the two parishes of S. Edward and S. John Baptist. The church of the latter parish was pulled down either then or soon afterwards; and the very fact that it once existed is now almost forgotten, though it had a nearly central situation in the Cambridge of that day, and was probably a large church, for the parish was a populous one, and contained, besides numerous dwelling-houses, two colleges, and several hostels. In the following paper it is proposed to narrate in the first place the history of the union of these two parishes; and secondly, the subsequent history of S. John's Church, which will be shewn to have been rebuilt by King Henry the Sixth. The illustrative documents printed at the end have been arranged in chronological order, and will be referred to by the letters of the alphabet prefixed to them.

A short account, however, must first be given, by way of preface, of the original position of the church. For this purpose a map of the part of Cambridge in which it stood has

been prepared, without which any description would be almost unintelligible[1]. Previous to the acquisition of the present site of King's College by King Henry the Sixth, one of the principal thoroughfares of Cambridge, called Milne Street, and sometimes S. John's Street, extended in a direct line from Queens' College to what was then Michael House, now part of Trinity College. The north and south ends of this street still survive, and are called respectively Trinity Hall Lane and Queens' Lane; but the portion that lay within the boundaries of King's College was granted to the King by the Town of Cambridge in 1445, and absorbed. The ground east and west of the street was at that time covered with buildings, most of which were in the parish of S. John Baptist; and their inhabitants used the church for their devotions, and the church-yard for burials. They were also used in the same way by the colleges of Clare Hall and Trinity Hall.

The position of the church is not exactly defined in any document that has yet come to light. It can however be determined with tolerable accuracy by taking into consideration the space that the church and church-yard of a fairly populous parish might reasonably be expected to occupy, together with that required for the hostels, dwelling-houses, wharves, and commons, that are known to have occupied the ground bounded by Milne Street on the east, Cholles Lane on the south, the river on the west, and Clare Hall on the north. These have been laid down on the accompanying map; but, as no measurements are given in the documents that refer to them, their relative dimensions must be matter of conjecture.

Cholles Lane was used as a thoroughfare to the river until 1824. The position of it is therefore well known. North of it was a piece of common ground, bounded by a lane called

[1] The scale is that of the excellent survey of Cambridge made in 1858 by Mr R. R. Rowe, of Cambridge, Architect. King's College Chapel, though it was not built at the time of which we are speaking, has been included in the map as a land-mark.

Strawey-lane or Salthithe Lane, leading to the river and the wharf called Salthithe. There was a second lane called Water-lane at a short distance north of Strawey-lane, and on the ground between the two stood S. Nicolas Hostel, which extended westward as far as Salthithe. North of Water-lane were tenements belonging to Elias Asteley and Edmund Lyster, and also S. Edmund's Hostel. Beyond these were situated Saint Austin's Hostel, a garden belonging to Corpus Christi College, some common ground, and lastly, north of the Hostel, the church and church-yard of S. John Baptist. The conveyance of S. Austin's Hostel by the Master and Fellows of Clare Hall to the King, dated 28 June, 1448, describes it as 'a messuage or hostel called Saint Austyn's hostell, with a garden and other tenements adjacent thereunto, situated in Milne-street in the parish of S. John Baptist, between the cemetery lately belonging to the parish church of S. John Baptist on the north, and another tenement, lately S. Edmund's hostel, on the south.' Some common ground lay between the Hostel and the river. The vicarage of S. John, called *Saynt Johanes Hostel*, which is described as contiguous to the church, must have been on the north side of the church-yard, close to Clare Hall, as the south side is accounted for. The church was pulled down when the site of King's was cleared for the erection of the present college; and if we accept the suggestion of Professor Willis[1] that it was placed so close to Milne Street that the ground on which the altar stood was included within the new Chapel, the destruction of it probably took place soon after 25 July, 1446, on which day the first stone of the Chapel was laid; for the walls were undoubtedly set out soon after that ceremony, and the cloister-cemetery, which occupied the site of the church and church-yard, if the above suggestion be adopted, was consecrated on All-Souls Day in the same year, and used for the burial of members of King's College until the new chapel was nearly finished.

[1] See his Architectural History of "King's College," for this and other particulars relating to the site, and early history of the buildings.

The advowson of S. John's Church was granted by Henry the Sixth to King's College in the charter confirmed by the Parliament which sat from 25 February, 23 H. VI. to 16 March, 24 H. VI. (1445—1446), together with the ground on which the vicarage had stood[1]; but the formal conveyance of this ground was not made until 1448, when Trinity Hall, which had become possessed of it in the interval, conveyed it to King's College, together with the Vicarage of S. Edward (*M*).

Henry the Sixth had obtained the advowsons of S. Edward and S. John from Barnwell Abbey, 20 February, 1446 (*B*); and it was probably in anticipation of the conveyance of the latter advowson to King's College, that the convent had presented Nicholas Close[2], Fellow of King's, to the living, 15 May, 1445 (*Q*). There is no documentary evidence to shew at what time Trinity Hall obtained the advowson of S. John's, but we shall see that when the Bishop of Ely decreed the union of the two parishes, 10 November, 1446 (*J*), he distinctly states it to be in the possession of Trinity Hall.

The negotiations set on foot by Henry the Sixth for the extension of his college so early as 1443 must have made those interested in S. John's Church aware that it was doomed to a certain and speedy destruction. Trinity Hall lost no time in opening negotiations with John Langton, Chancellor of the University, and one of the Royal Commissioners for the acquisition of the new site and transaction of other business connected with the College. By a deed dated 8 June, 1444 (*A*), he agreed "in all godely hast" to "labour and do his ful part and diligence to gete the Patronage of the Vicarage of the Church of St Edward's of the Towne of Cambrigge...and to appropriate the said Churche at the next

[1] Heywood and Wright, *King's College and Eton College Statutes*, 8vo. London, 1850, p. 322.

[2] Nicholas Close was one of the six original Fellows of King's College. He held the office of *magister operum* there after the resignation of Millington until about 1450, when he was made Bishop of Carlisle. See Willis' History, i. 468.

vacacion thereof to the propre use of the said College;" and Simon Dallyng, Master of Trinity Hall, engaged to pay him 100 marks for his trouble. Clare Hall, though it must have been as much inconvenienced as Trinity Hall by the loss of S. John's Church, does not appear to have moved in the matter in any way. Three years afterwards, 21 March, 1446, the advowson of S. Edward's was conveyed to Trinity Hall by royal letters patent (*C*). The reason for the donation is therein expressly stated to be "the great kindness and good-feeling that the college had at various times displayed towards the royal college of S. Mary and S. Nicholas."

The question of the union of the parishes of S. John and S. Edward next arose. The site of the proposed college had probably been by this time cleared for building, for the Bishop of Ely in his appointment of a Commission to inquire whether the proposed union was desirable or not, dated 31 July, 1446 (*D*), states that the revenues of S. John's had become "through the reduction in number of the parishioners on account of the building of King's College," insufficient for the proper support of a clergyman.

The usual formalities followed. The Bishop's Commissioners, John Welles, Doctor in Civil Law, and William Malster, Licentiate in Canon Law, met in S. Edward's Church, 3 August, 1446, and summoned the parties interested to appear before them, either in person or by their proxies, on 13 August next ensuing[1]. The duty of citing these persons was entrusted by them to Richard Taylor, Henry Clerk, and William Sande (*F*); but their efforts to get a meeting together were not successful.

[1] Nicholas Close, Vicar of S. John's, appointed his proxy 1 August, 1446 (*F*); as did Robert Howbryge, Vicar of S. Edward's. Similar documents were drawn up by the Archdeacon of Ely (8 Aug.), the Prior and Chapter of Ely (9 Aug.), the Prior and Convent of Barnwell (9 Aug.), and the Churchwardens and Parishioners of S. Edward (11 Aug.). These deeds are all in Trinity Hall Muniment Room. The last was sealed with the seal of the Chancellor of the University, because the parishioners, as they state, had no seal of their own.

One of those appointed, Henry Clerk, writes to the Bishop, 12 August, giving the names of those whom he had summoned, but complaining that he had been unable to find them, because, as their parishioners asserted, they had gone away to Shene and other holy places (*F*) probably to attend the festival of the Assumption (15 August). The settlement of the question was therefore deferred until 10 November in the same year, when the parties interested thought proper to appear, and apparently offered no objections, for on the same day the Bishop made a decree declaring the parishes united, and appropriated to Trinity Hall (*J*); a measure which was approved by the Prior and Chapter of Ely two days afterwards (*K*)[1].

Meanwhile the Prior of Barnwell had been active in the interest of his convent, and had negotiated directly with Trinity Hall. On October 9 that College bound themselves in £200 to secure to the convent the tithe of sheaves in the united parishes (*G*); and on October 10, the Prior binds himself in a similar sum to procure for Trinity Hall the advowson and patronage of the united churches six months after the appropriation of the Vicarage of Kingston in Cambridgeshire to the Convent (*H*). It is clear from this that Trinity Hall was in some way to promote that appropriation as a compensation to the convent. The matter had already made some progress, for the Bishop of Ely's Commission to John Stokes and William Malster to investigate it, is dated 29 September previously; but there is no reason to suppose that the proposed appropriation was ever carried out, for the Provost and Fellows of King's College are still the patrons of Kingston. It was possibly on account of the failure of this negotiation that the Convent asked the Bishop of Ely to grant them the appropriation of Stowe Quy in the same county, which they obtained 24 October, 1457[2]. Trinity Hall faithfully fulfilled their

[1] The union of these two parishes was confirmed by the "Cambridge Award Act, 1856," § XLVI.

[2] See "History and Antiquities of Barnwell Abbey and of Sturbridge

promise with regard to the tithe, which they conveyed to the Convent, with the assent of the Bishops of Ely and Norwich, 6 December, 1446 (*L*), and further drew up a bond of £500 not to disturb the convent in the collection of the same[1].

The extent of the parish can be made out with tolerable accuracy[2]. It has been already mentioned that the colleges of Trinity Hall and Clare Hall were situated in it. The rest can be determined approximately by the help of the conveyances to King's College of the pieces of ground acquired for the site. Of these the following are stated to have been in the parish of S. John Baptist. A garden bought from Trinity Hall in 1440, on which the portion of the Old Court between the Schools and Trinity Hall Lane stood; the southern part of God's House; the dwelling-houses on the east side of Milne Street between Piron Lane and S. Austin's Lane; S. Austin's Hostel; S. Nicholas' Hostel; Asteley's tenement; S. Edmund's Hostel; and S. Austin's Hostel next to the church-yard of S. John. The parish in which Crouched Hostel was situated is not noted; but it is reasonable to suppose that it would be the same, for the western portion at least, as that of the ground north and south of it. We are therefore able to state that all the ground west of Milne Street, between Garrett Hostel Lane and Salthithe Lane, was in the parish of S. John; and that on the east side of the same street it was bounded by a line running from north to south at about 115 feet from the

Fair," 4to. 1786, App pp. 16—20, in Nichols' "*Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica*." The Convent in their prayer to the Bishop for the appropriation of Kingston urge various tribulations, "et precipue in recompensationem duarum ecclesiarum paroch' scilicet sanctorum Johannis et Edwardi eisdem religiosis appropriat' quarum advocationem et jus patronatus Collegium sancte Trinitatis de Cantabr' ad instantiam regiam per donationem et concessionem prioris et conventus de Barnwell optinuit et sibi adquisivit." The appropriation of Stowe Quy is asked for in almost identical language.

[1] Now in Trinity Hall Muniment Room. It is not however either indented or sealed, and may be only a draft which was never executed.

[2] The boundaries have been indicated on the map by a red line.

street, with the exception of S. Austin's Hostel, which extended for about 220 feet eastward of Milne Street. On this side the parish did not extend southward of King's Lane. Salthithe Lane has been mentioned as the south boundary on the west side of Milne Street; but the parish of the 'Common Ground' between that lane and Cholles Lane is not stated; nor can we be certain about that of the land sold to King's College by the Carmelites in 1535, now the Provost's Garden[1].

The necessity for the destruction of the church, and the obligation to rebuild it, is distinctly stated in the document usually termed "The Will of King Henry the Sixth," which is dated 12 March, 1447—48. The passage is as follows:

And I wol that...the chirch of saint John which muste be take into thenlargyng of my same College be wel and sufficientli made agayn in the ground in whiche the prouost and scolers abouseid nowe be logged or nygh by wher hit may be thought most conuenient, to thentent that diuine seruice shal mowe be doon therin worshipfully vnto the honour of god oure blessed lady cristis moder saint John Baptist and alle saintis:

This intention was certainly carried out. By letters patent, dated 20 June, 1453 (*N*), the King declares that "whereas the church had been completely destroyed through the erection of our college on its site, and another church in honour of S. John Baptist had been newly built at our own cost near to our aforesaid college," the new church is made a parish church, and a yearly stipend of ten pounds is assigned to the Rector. Further, by a second similar document, issued on the same day (*O*), the advowson of this new church is granted to the Provost and Scholars of King's College; and by a third, dated 29 June, 1453 (*P*), the said stipend is confirmed to William Towne, who had been presented by the Provost and Fellows[2].

[1] If we are to accept the conclusion of the authors of the "Report of the Cambridge Borough Rate Committee," 1850, it was in the parish of S. John. It is now in that of S. Edward. There is no evidence that the parish of S. John extended to the west side of the River Cam.

[2] Dr Towne was one of the original scholars of King's College. He died 11 March, 14?6, and was buried in the easternmost chapel but one on

A record of the position of the church after the rebuilding has been preserved by Dr Caius in his History of the University, published in 1574. He is speaking of the additions made to King's College by Henry the Sixth:

"Auxit etiam accessione templi et coemiterii S. Johannis Zachariæ, quod oppositum fuit, ad meridiem, horto occidentali Collegii Gonvilli et Caii via regia intercedente tantum. Quo loco vetus iam et unica Aula eiusdem collegii Regalis est. Et eius loco templum S. Edwardi Aulæ sanctæ Trinitatis (cuius alterum illud templum fuit) contulit[1]."

In this passage Dr Caius is clearly speaking, as he usually does throughout his history, of what he remembered in his own time; and it is quite impossible that he could be at fault when describing buildings contiguous to his own college. The western garden (*hortus occidentalis*) can be none other than the Master's Garden of Caius College, at the south-west corner of the site; and the public road (*via regia*) is the lane called Gonville Hall Lane, now 'Senate House Passage,' which separated his own college from the first site of King's College, which was immediately to the south of it, as the plan shews. The Hall of King's College stood on the north side of the site, close to the lane, from the earliest times to the erection of the new buildings by Wilkins (1824—28), after which the site was sold to the University, and all the old buildings destroyed. The church therefore, as rebuilt, stood near the Hall, probably a little to the west of it, at the north-west corner of the site, where there was a vacant place, as the plan shews. This position is confirmed by the entry quoted below from the Audit-Book for 1468—69, in which the church is described as near

the north side of the chapel. It should be mentioned that the following passage occurs in MSS. Cole, IV. f. 29 b (he is quoting apparently from the Register of Thomas Bourchier, Bishop of Ely 1444—54. See also MSS. Baker, XXX. 198): "A°. 31. Hen. 6. in Registro mentio fit Ecclesiæ Sancti Johannis demolitæ propter Collegium novum: Item Ecclesiæ novæ edificatæ juxta Collegium Expensis Regis, quæ dotata erat 10^{li}. annuatim persolvend' ab Universitate Ratione Mercati et. Sed Linea obducta cassatur. Nec talis Ecclesia unquam ædificata videtur."

[1] *Historia Cantabrigiensis Academiæ*, p. 67.

the great gate of the college. From the way in which Dr Caius speaks of it, it is evident that it was no longer in existence when he wrote. From the first it must have been nearly useless as a parish church, for Trinity Hall and Clare Hall had provided accommodation for their members in S. Edward's Church, by adding aisles to the north and south sides of the chancel respectively, and the rest of the parishioners, if any remained, were entitled, after the formal union of the two parishes, to use that church in the same manner.

The following extracts from the Audit-books of King's College, called "Mundum-books," furnish additional proof that the intention of rebuilding the church was undoubtedly carried out. It will be observed that they are all for years subsequent to that in which we have shewn that the original church must have been destroyed.

Mundum-Book, 1456—57. *Custus ecclesie.* Item sol' in die sancti Georgii pro vna cordula empt' pro campana in ecclesia sancti Johannis . . . . . iiij^{d}.

College Accounts, Vol. 2. 1462. Item sol' xviij^{s}. die Maii duobus plummers pro reparacione Ecclesie sancti Johannis, cum .ij^{s}. ix^{d}. sol' eisdem pro .xj. lb de sowder . . . . . v^{s}. ix^{d}.

Mundum-Book, 1468—69. *Custus noui Edificii.* Et pro le howke pro magna porta iuxta ecclesiam sci Johannis pond' xiiij lb. [with other entries] . . . . . x^{s}.

Item sol' cuidam lathamo pro labore suo circa reparacionem magne porte prope Ecclesiam sancti Johannis Baptiste . . vj^{d}.

Ibid. 1469—70. *Custus ecclesie.* Item sol' Thome Bokebyndre pro reparacione cuiusdem Antiphonarii malefact' in Capella Sancti Johannis Baptiste . . . . . iiij^{s}.

Ibid. 1472—73. *Expense necessarie.* Item sol' pro le gridyng de .le. Sithes, vna cum ij^{d}. sol' pro cordula pro campana in Ecclesia sancti Johannis . . . . . v^{d}.

Custus noui edificii.

Item sol' eidem pro reparacione fenestrarum vitrearum in Capella sancti Johannis . . . . . iij^{s}.

College Accounts, Vol. 6. (1474—75). Item sol' lopham pro vitriacione in Choro Ecclesie sancti Johannis . . . . . iij^{s}.

Mundum-Book, 1476—77. *Custus noui edificii.* Item sol' Roberto Wellys in partem solucionis de x^{s}. iiij^{d}. pro reparacione tectorum Ecclesie sancti Johannis et Camerarum Collegii . . . iiij^{s}. vj^{d}.

Item sol' dicto Roberto Wellys in plenam solucionem de x^{s}. iiij^{d}. pro reparacione plumbi tectorum Ecclesie sancti Johannis et Camerarum Collegii . . . . . vj^{s}. x^{d}.
Item sol' Waltero Carpentario pro labore suo in Ecclesia sancti Johannis per .iij. dies . . . . . xviij^{d}.

College Accounts, Vol. 6. (1480—83). Item sol' Hoon London pro Redebokeram pro Ecclesia sancti Johannis . . . . . ix^{s}.

Mundum-Book. 1488—89. *Custus ecclesie.* Item sol' pro[1] peciis panni lanei de Tapstrewerke pendent' ex vtroque latere Ecclesie Sancti Johannis Baptiste . . . . . xj^{li}. xj^{s}.

Besides these entries a separate account for timber brought to the college from Ashdon in Essex has been preserved. It is entitled, "Liber Meremii de Asshdon Halys cariat' ad Cantebr' tempore Regis Edwardi iiij^{ti}.[2]" The date is probably 20 Edward IV., 1480—81. The above endorsement is on the first page; the second page is blank; and the following account begins on the third page.

Soluciones fact' pro Ecclesia Sancti Johannis A^{o} etc.

In primis sol' Johanni Asshwell pro Spikyng Nayle et Cordulis . viij^{d}.

Lathami { Item sol' Johanni Bell lathamo iiij^{or}. die Marcii pro .v. diebus . . . . . ij^{s}. x^{d}.
Item sol' Johanni Colles lathamo pro eisdem .v. diebus ij^{s}. x^{d}.

Laborat' { Item sol' Thome Cracy pro .iij. diebus xij d. Thome Wayne pro .iij. diebus xij^{d}. Johanni Mathew pro .iij. diebus xij^{d}. et Willelmo plumton pro .iiij^{or}. diebus vltra Comunas suas in Collegio viij d. . iij^{s}. viij^{d}.
Item sol' Willelmo pever pro .vj. diebus . . . ij^{s}.
Item Willelmo Brymley pro .vj. diebus . . . ij^{s}.
Item Johanni Kyng pro di' die . . . . . ij^{d}.

Item sol' Willelmo Cave pro Bristels ij d. Et pro Tarre^{ob} et pakthrede^{ob} pro ij brusshes ad albificand' muros dicte Ecclesie . . iij^{d}.
Item sol' pro .iij. scaphis et vna olla lutea . . . . . vj^{d}. ob.
Item sol' Bele Copar' pro reparacione vnius Tubbe et hopyng dict' .iij. Scapharum . . . . . v^{d}.
Sarrat' Item sol' Thome Browell et soc' pro sarracione meremii per iiij^{or} dies et vnum quart' diei . . . . iiij^{s}. iij^{d}.

[1] There is a blank space left for the number to be inserted.
[2] King's College Muniment Room, College Accounts, Vol. 6.

Latham'
- Item sol' Johanni Bell lathamo xj die Marcii pro vj diebus iij^{s}. iiij^{d}.
- Item sol' Thome Bower pro vj. diebus iij^{s}
- Item sol' Grym pro iiij^{or} diebus ij^{s}.
- Item sol' Johanni Russell et prentice suo pro iiij^{or} diebus xx^{d}.
- Item sol' Willelmo Pever pro vj diebus xxij^{d}
- Item Willelmo Brymley pro vj diebus xxij^{d}
- Item Johanni Eman' pro vj diebus ij^{s}.
- Item Johanni Wright pro iiij^{or} diebus xvj^{d}
- Item Johanni Mathew pro j die iiij^{d}

Item sol' Markeley de Hynton pro .vj. ffother Calcis adusti xv^{s}.

Item sol' Willelmo Cave pro xiij bigatis zabuli iij^{s}. iij^{d}.

Item sol' Thome Sympson pro .xvj. big' Zabuli iiij^{s}

Item sol' Thome Bedell pro .cc. pauyng Tyle v^{s} viij^{d}

Item sol' Willelmo Cave pro cariagio eorundem iij^{d}

Item sol' Simoni Sympson pro cariagio xiij studdes a domo ffratrum griseorum iiij^{d}.

Item sol' Thome Sympson pro cariagio vnius pecie magni meremii prope pandoxat' vsque ad puteum sarrat' iiij^{d}

Item sol' Thome Cracy laborer pro .xj. die marcii iiij^{d}

Lathami
- Item sol' Johanni Colles xviij die marcii iij^{s} iiij^{d}
- Item Willelmo Boredon —— iij^{s} iiij^{d}
- Item Willelmo Bayly —— iij^{s} iiij^{d}
- Item Willelmo Clement —— iij^{s}

Leyers
- Item Thome Bower pro .vj. diebus vj s
- Item Ricardo Grymme pro iiij^{or} diebus ij^{s}
- Item Johanni Russell pro .ij. diebus x^{d}.

Laborat'
- Item Johanni Wright pro .iiij.^{or} diebus xvj^{d}.
- Item Willelmo Brymley pro .iij. diebus xij^{d}.
- Item Willelmo pever pro .iij. diebus xij^{d}
- Item Thome Cracy pro .vj. diebus ij^{s}.
- Item Willelmo Plumton pro j die iiij^{d}

Item sol' Thome Bedell xxij die marcii pro iij^{s} pauyngtile viij^{s} vij^{d}.

Item sol' Willelmo Cave pro cariagio eorundem vj^{d}.

Carpentarii
- Item sol' martyn prentice Carpentar' pro .vj. Septimanis viz. a .vij. die ffebr' vsque xviij diem marcii xxiiij^{s}.
- Item sol' Thome Mote pro xxx^{ta} diebus di' per idem tempus xv^{s} iij^{d}.
- Item sol' Johanni White pro xxx^{ta} diebus di' xv^{s} iij^{d}.
- Item sol' Johanni Mote pro xxx^{ta} diebus di' ad iiij^{d} per diem x^{s} ij^{d}.
- Item sol' Willelmo prentice pro .xiij. diebus vj^{s} vj^{d}
- Item sol' Thome prentice pro .xv. diebus vij^{s}. vj^{d}
- Item sol' Johanni Coke pro .xvj. diebus vsque dict' xviij diem marcii viij^{s}.

Die Sabbati xxv. die Marcii

Carpentarii.
Item sol' Martyn Prentice iiij^{s}
Item sol' Thome Mote pro .iiij^{or}. diebus di' ij^{s} iij^{d}
Item Willelmo prentice pro .ij. diebus xij^{d}.
Item Thome prentice pro .iij. diebus di' xxj^{d}.
Item Johanni White pro iiij^{or} diebus di' ij^{s} iij^{d}.
Item Johanni Coke pro .ij. diebus di' xv^{d}.
Item Johanni Mote pro .iij. diebus xij^{d}.

Item Thome Bower pro .iiij^{or}. diebus di' ij^{s}. iij^{d}
Item Johanni Bell lathamo iij^{s} iij^{d}
Item Johanni Eman' laborat' pro .iij. diebus di' xiiij^{d}
Item Talbot Cleyer pro .ij. diebus xiiij^{d}.
Item Johanni Thomson seruienti suo viij^{d}
Item pro: v^{c}. lath iij^{s} iij^{d}
Item pro . ij. M^{l}. di' Sprigge xx^{d}.
Item Johanni Robynson pro j die iiij^{d}
Item Willelmo pever pro .iij. diebus xij^{d}.
Item Willelmo Brymley pro .iij. diebus xij^{d}
Item Thome Cracy pro .ij. diebus viij^{d}.
Item Willelmo Plumton pro .v. diebus xx^{d}.
Item Rogero Adam Carpentario pro .x^{ti}. ped' mensularum[1] iiij^{s} v^{d}.
Item pro ix^{ti}. iiij. ped' mensularum iiij^{s} j^{d}
Item pro j pecia meremii pro gradibus in Naui Ecclesie xvj^{d}
Item pro sarracione .xvij. peciis (*sic*) meremii xvij^{d}.
Item Johanni Sturgeon pro dictis.xvij. peciis meremii cont' xlij ped' di' vij^{s} j.
Item eidem pro .xij. Justes. cont' xxx^{ta}. ped' pro Rodeloft v^{s}.
Item Simoni Kendale Smyth pro iiij^{or} broddes Et pro .ij. pynnes de ferro pro le Creste apud summum altare v^{d}.

Die sabbati primo die Aprilis

Item sol' Martyn prentice iiij^{s}
Item Thome Mote pro iij diebus di' xxj^{d}
Item Willelmo Prentice pro .iij. diebus xviij^{d}
Item Thome prentice pro .iij. diebus di' xxj^{d}.
Item Johanni White pro .ij. diebus di' xv^{d}.
Item Johanni Coke pro .ij. diebus di' xv^{d}.
Item Johanni Mote pro .iij. diebus di' xiiij^{d}.
Item sol' pro Spikyng Nayle j^{d}.
Item sol pro Clauis v^{s}. x^{d}.
Item Talbot Cleyer pro .iiij.^{or} diebus ij^{s}. iij^{d}
Item Johanni Thomson seruienti suo xvj^{d}
Item Thome Bower pro. ij. diebus xij^{d}.

[1] 'Mensulæ' are probably 'planks'.

Item Johanni Eman' seruienti suo viij^{d}.
Item Willelmo Plumton pro .iiij^{or}. diebus xvj^{d}
Item pro .ij. stapils et j. haspe pro ostio de Rodeloft j^{d}.
Item sol' Thome Sympson pro cariagio meremii et mensularum a domo Rogeri Adam Carpentarii iij^{d}.
Item sol' Henrico Geruyce pro .iij. bigatis luti xij^{d}.
Item Arnold lokyer per manus Bowes ix^{d}.
Item Willelmo Plumton pro j die iiij^{d}
R' de M' Clerke Receptori C s
R' de M' Vice preposito lxvj^{s} viij^{d}
Item Thome Gardyner pro .xvij. diebus v^{s} viij^{d}
Item Johanni Caunterbury pro M^{l}. Breke[1]
Item sol' Andree Hakon Smyth pro emendacione vnius Copyng Ax fract in dict' Ecclesia ij^{d}.

xiij^{li} xv^{s} ob.

[1] John Canterbury was clerk of the works (*clericus operum*) at King's College during part of the time that Robert Wodelarke (Provost 1452—1479) was overseer (*magister operum*). It is not known for how long he held the office, but he was certainly discharging the duties of it in 1460. He was a native of Tewkesbury; was admitted scholar of King's in 1450; and afterwards married Isabella, Wodelarke's sister. He resided at the S.E. corner of old King's Lane and Trumpington Street, in the house which afterwards belonged to Mr Cory, and was sold by his executors to King's College in 1870. In Canterbury's time it was the property of Catharine Hall, to which it had been given by Wodelarke, and Canterbury had a lease of it. In Wodelarke's '*Memoriale Nigrum*,' preserved in the treasury of Catharine Hall, the following passage occurs: 'Que quidem tenementa...Johannes Caunterbury coniunctim cum Isabella uxore sua sorore predicti magistri Roberti [Wodelarke] habet ad terminum vite sue et alterius eorum diucius viuentis.' In a conveyance of it dated 23 December, 1498, the position is thus described: "inter quoddam Tenementum vocat *le Bulle on the hoope* ex parte Australi ac quandam venellam vocat' *Nuttyslane* alias *puttylane* ex parte boriali, et caput orient' abuttat super regiam viam, et Aliud capud super Tenementum nuper Goldyngtons." His wife bequeathed a house in the parish of the Holy Sepulchre to S. Catharine's, in recognition of which the college agreed to celebrate certain services in her honour by a deed dated 13 August, 1479. In this document Canterbury is spoken of as still living. He and his wife were both buried in S. Benedict's Church, where their tomb was defaced by the notorious William Dowsing in 1642. The connection of Canterbury with King's College probably ceased with that of Wodelarke, for when work on the Chapel was resumed by Edward the Fourth in 1479, the clerk

This account extends over nearly two months, and, from the number of stonecutters and stonemasons employed, indicates a considerable repair, if not a complete rebuilding. Two of the men, John Sturgeon and Martin Prentice, are those to whom a commission was issued by Edward the Fourth, 10 July, 1480, directing them to convey to Cambridge the timber lately bought by the King from the Abbot of Walden[1]. The date therefore coincides with that of the renewal of work on the chapel, and the two sets of operations were probably conducted by the same workmen.

Again, in the Inventory of the vestments in the chapel made in August, 1453[2], the following entries referring to S. John's Church occur:

Item xv tuaillez for th' aulters and vij wasshing tuaillez over ij tuaillez that beth at London and othir ij tuaillez that beth in Seint Johnes chirch.

Item vj ferial aulter clothes of grene tartren rayed and iij pair corteyns of grene tartren...for to be occupied in seint Johns chirch.

Item ther is vij corporasses whereof ther beth v in ye vestiarie and one at london and an other in seint Johnes chirche. And also v corporascases wherof ther is iij in the vestiarie and j at london and an other in seint Johnes chirch.

The precise date of the destruction of S. John's Church cannot now be ascertained. An extensive repair of the Hall is paid for in 1562; and if that repair included an extension, it must have taken place before that date. It will be remarked that the last entry referring to the church is in 1488—89, previous to which year entries had been of frequent occurrence. We should therefore perhaps be right in concluding that after that date the church was allowed to fall into a gradual decay.

of the works was Thomas Clyff, and Canterbury's name does not reappear in any building-account.

[1] Patent, 20 Edward IV. p. 1. m. 22.

[2] Printed in *The Ecclesiologist*, Vol. xx.

APPENDIX.

A. Indenture between John Langton, Chancellor of the University, and Simon Dalling, warden of Trinity Hall, by which Langton engages to procure for Trinity Hall the Appropriation of S. Edward's. 8 June, 1444. [MSS. Baker, XXVII. 317.]

This endenture made at Cambrigg the VIII^th^ day of Juyn the yere of our Soverain Lord the King Henry the Sixt after the Conquest XXII; bituix Maister John Langton Chauncellier of the Universite of Cambrigge on that oon partie, and Maister Simon Dallyng wardeyn of the College called Trinite Halle in Cambrigg on that other partie witnesseth,

that it is appointed and accorded bituix the said Parties, that the said Chauncellier shal in alle godely hast labour and do his ful part and diligence to gete the Patronage of the vicriage (*sic*) of the Churche of S^t^ Edwardes of the Towne of Cambrigge with alle thappurtenaunces to y^e^ same vicriage longyng and appertenyng, except the Mansion of the same vicriage, And to appropriate the said Churche at the next vacacion therof to the propre vse of the said College at the expenses of the said Chauncellier, as wele anempst the Kyng, as the Bishop, the Chapitre, and the Archedeken of Ely, except the yerely indempnite of the said Bisshop, Chapitre, and Archedeken, which shal be born by the said College. And the said wardein anone after the said Appropriacion is made in the fourme abouesaid shal paye or do paye to the said Chauncellier or to his Assignes an .C. Marc of Sterlinges.

And moreouer it is appointed and accorded bituix the said parties that where the said wardein and his Felawes haue a licence of the King, by his Lettres patentes, to amortise to the said College londes and tenements that ben holden in Burgage to the value of XL^lib^. the said Chauncellier at the costes of the said College shal do his ful labour and diligence to gete a Licence to the said College to amortise londes and tenements that ben holden in Burgage or by Knightes Seruice, so that suche londes and tenements holden by Knightes Seruice be not holden of the Kyng in Chieffe, to the value of XL^lib^. surrendring in that cas the said Lettres patentes.

And furthermore it is accorded and appointed bituix the said parties, that the said College shall discharge the Prouost and Scolers of the Kings

Collcge of oure Lady and S^{t} Nicolas of Cambrigg of alle maner tithes, oblacions, or other Commodities, that might growe or longe to the said Churche of S^{t} Edwardes, by reson of eny grownde that the said Kinges College shall haue in the paroissh of Saint Edwardes for augmentation of her gardeyn, after the discrecion and Jugement of the Reverend Fader in God the Bishop of Lincoln that nowe is, or if he decese in the menetyme, after the discrecion and Jugement of .1. or .2. persounes to be chosen by the said parties or her assignes or executours.

Also it is appointed and accorded bituix the said parties, that if it happen herafter that in theese appointmentes and accordes aboue rehersed or in eny part of them, eny contraversie or variaunce falle bituix the said parties, her Assignes, or Executours, which God defende, that they shall in that abide and obeye the rule and ordinaunce of the said Bisshop of Lincoln, such as he shal sette therin. And in cas that he make noo Rule ne Ordinaunce therof, thanne the said parties to be ruled after the discrecion and Jugement of the said persounes to be chosen as is aboue rehersed.

In witnesse wherof the said parties haue to thees endentures entrechaungeably sette her seeles the day and yere abovesaid.

[*Ex originali sub sigillo.*] *Now in Trinity Hall Muniment Room. The Seal is gone.*

B. The Prior and Convent of Barnwell grant to Henry VI. the Advowsons of S. Edward and S. John. 20 February, 1446. [MSS. Baker, XXVII. 317.]

Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos presentes litere peruenerint, Johannes Prior domus et ecclesie Sancti Egidii de Barnewell, et eiusdem loci Conuentus salutem in Domino sempiternam.

Noueritis nos vnanimes consensu et assensu tocius Capituli nostri dedisse et concessisse excellentissimo Principi et Domino Domino Henrico Dei gratia Regi Anglie et Francie post conquestum Sexto, aduocationes ecclesiarum nostrarum Sancti Edwardi et Sancti Johannis Baptiste Cantebr' cum omnibus suis iuribus proficuis et pertinentiis quibuscumque, habend' et tenend' aduocationes predictas cum suis pertinentiis vt predictum est eidem Domino Regi et Heredibus suis imperpetuum.

In cuius rei testimonium huic presenti carte nostre sigillum commune Domus nostre predicte apposuimus. Hiis testibus, Laurentio Cheyne et Johanne Ansty Sen' Armigeris, Willelmo Hauke, Johanne Marchall Clericis et Thoma Foster, et aliis. Dat' apud Barnewell predict' in Domo Capitulari nostra, vicesimo die Februarii, anno Regni predict' Domini nostri Regis vicesimo quarto.

[*Ex originali cum Sigillo pendente.*] *Now in Trinity Hall Muniment Room. The Seal is gone.*

C. Letters patent of Henry VI., granting and appropriating S. Edward's to Trinity Hall. 21 March, 1446. [MSS. Baker, XXVIII. 63.]

Henricus Dei gratia Rex Angliæ et Franciæ et Dominus Hiberniæ omnibus ad quos presentes literæ peruenerint, Salutem.

Sciatis, quod nos attendentes, qualiter Custos Socii et Scolares Aule Sancte Trinitatis in Cantebr' variis temporibus (vt asseritur) teneritatem et gratitudinem immensas Collegio nostro Regali Beate Marie et Sancti Nicholai de Cantebr' variis modis ante hec tempora impenderunt, eidemque Collegio indies impendunt;

de gratia nostra speciali concessimus predictis Custodi Sociis et Scholaribus aduocationem ecclesie Sancti Edwardi de Cant' predict', que de nostro Patronatu existit: habend' et tenend' eisdem Custodi Sociis et Scolaribus et Successoribus suis in liberam puram et perpetuam Elemosinam imperpetuum.

Et vlterius concessimus, et licentiam dedimus, pro nobis et heredibus nostris, quantum in nobis est, eisdem Custodi Sociis et Scolaribus et successoribus suis, quod ipsi ecclesiam predictam appropriare, et eam in proprios vsus tenere possint, sibi et successoribus suis imperpetuum. Et quod ipsi et successores sui predicti eidem ecclesie Sancti Edwardi, per vnum Capellanum idoneum valeant deseruire, et quod ipsi et successores sui huiusmodi Capellanum quociens sibi placuerit, remouere, et alium in loco ipsius constituere, de tempore in tempus, iuxta libitum voluntatis eorum valeant imperpetuum, absque dotacione Vicarie in eadem ecclesia Sancti Edwardi, seu compulsione ad distribucionem alicuius summe pecunie annuatim inter pauperes parochianos eiusdem ecclesie, per Ordinarium loci illius assignand' aliqualiter faciend', iuxta formam statuti in huiusmodi casu provisi. Statuto de terris et tenementis ad manum mortuam non ponendis, aut aliquo alio statuto, ordinatione, prouisione, restriccione, siue actu ante hec tempora qualitercunque facto, edito, seu proviso, aut eo quod expressa mencio de vero valore annuo Aduocationis predicte, seu dicte ecclesie, aut proficuorum et emolumentorum eiusdem, seu eo quod de aliis donis et concessionibus prefatis Custodi Sociis et Scolaribus, et Successoribus suis, per nos ante hec tempora factis, in presentibus facta non existit, non obstante.

In cuius rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste me ipso apud Westmonasterium vicesimo primo die Marcii, Anno Regni nostri vicesimo quarto. Per ipsum Regem, et de Dat' predicta, auctoritate parliamenti. Kirkeby.

Now in Trinity Hall Muniment Room. Seal attached.

D. Commission of the Bishop of Ely to John Wellys and William Malster, to inquire whether the Church of S. John may

properly be united to that of S. Edward, as the parishioners of the former have requested. 31 July, 1446. [MSS. Baker, XXVII. 320.]

Thomas permissione diuina Eliensis Episcopus Dilectis nobis in Christo filiis Magistris Johanni Wellys Legum Doctori, Willelmo Malster in Decretis Licentiato Salutem, gratiam, et benedictionem.

Cum nobis ex parte parochianorum ecclesie Sancti Johannis Baptiste Cantebr' Eliensis Dioceseos humiliter foret supplicatum quod, cum fructus, decime, obuenciones, oblaciones, prouentus, et alia emolumenta quecunque Ecclesie parochialis Sancti Johannis Baptiste ville predicte, nostre Dioceseos, propter raritatem et paucitatem parochianorum eiusdem, per edificacionem et construccionem Collegii Regalis Beate Marie et Sancti Nicholai infra Parochiam eiusdem de nouo erecti in multis diminuta ac alios casus fortuitos, adeo decreuerint et diminuta existant, quod ad unius Capellani congruam sustentacionem, qui curam animarum eiusdem agnoscere deberet, minime sufficiunt hiis diebus; nec de verisimili, cum mundus se semper ad deteriora declinet, sufficere debeant in futurum, quatinus ex causis premissis prefatam Ecclesiam Sancti Johannis, cum suis iuribus et pertinentiis vniversis, Ecclesie Sancti Edwardi ville predicte etiam modici valoris, cui dicta Ecclesia Sancti Johannis vicina et contigua existit, et conuenienter poterit consolidari, nostra auctoritate ordinaria et Diocesana vnire annectere et incorporare, ac Rectori siue Proprietariis dicte Ecclesie Sancti Edwardi et Successoribus suis in proprios vsus perpetuo possidend' concedere dignaremur

Nos, prout ex officii Pastoralis debito astringimur, subditis nostris quatenus in nobis est, Justitie complementum impertiri cupientes, et pro eo quod aliunde propediti, examinacioni ac discussioni prefati negocii personaliter minime superesse valentes ad inquirend' examinand'que in premissis ac omnibus et singulis que circa ea necessaria visa fuerint seu quomodolibet oportuna, cum cuiuslibet cohercionis canonica potestate, vocatis de iure vocandis, vobis coniunctim, de quorum fidelitate atque industria ad plenum in Domino confidimus, committimus vices nostras. Do die vero recepcionis presentium, vna cum modo et forma Inquisicionis Examinacionisque predictarum, atque omnibus et singulis quæ feceritis in premissis nos certificetis per vestras Literas patentes harum seriem continentes Sigillo autentico sigillatas.

Dat' in Manerio nostro de Hatfield penultimo die Mensis Julii Anno Domini Millesimo quadringentesimo quadragesimo sexto, et nostre Translacionis Anno tercio.

[*Ex originali sub sigillo.*] *Now in Trinity Hall Muniment Room. The Seal is gone.*

E. Nicholas Close, Vicar of S. John Baptist, appoints John Seman his proxy in the question of the union of the two parishes. 1 August, 1446. [MSS. Baker, XXVII. 320.]

Pateat universis per presentes quod ego Nicholaus Close vicarius perpetuus Ecclesie parochialis Sancti Johannis Baptiste Cantebr' Eliensis dioceseos in quadam causa vnionis sive annexionis dicte Ecclesie Sancti Johannis cum omnibus suis iuribus et pertinentiis universis Ecclesie Sancti Edwardi earundem Ville et Dioceseos faciende, quatenus dicta vnio personam meam tangit, ius siue Interesse meum seu Successorum meorum, meum verum ac legitimum Procuratorem, Actorem, factorem, negotiorum gestorem, ac nuncium specialem, Dilectum mihi in Christo Johannem Seman clericum facio ordino et constituo, dans et concedens eidem Procuratori meo potestatem generalem, et mandatum speciale, pro me et nomine meo coram quocunque competenti Judice in ea parte comparend', dicteque unioni consentiend', et dicte unionis annexionis et consolidationis prolacionem et sententiam fieri cum effectu petend' alium seu alios Procuratorem seu Procuratores quotiens et quando sibi visum fuerit substituend', substitutum sive substitutos remouend', officiumque Procuratoris in se reassumend' ac omnia cetera et singula faciend' et expediend' quæ in premissis necessaria visa fuerint seu quomodolibet oportuna, etiam si talia fuerint, quæ de sui natura mandatum magis exigant speciale, ratum et gratum habituri, quicquid idem Procurator meus seu substitutus alius ab eodem fecerit in premissis sub ypotheca et obligacione omnium bonorum meorum promitto et cautionem expono per presentes.

In cuius rei testimonium, eo quod sigillum meum pluribus est incognitum, sigillum Reuerendi viri Domini Cancellarii universitatis Cantebr' presentibus apponi procuravi.

Et nos Johannes Langton in Decretis Licentiatus Cancellarius Universitatis predicte ad personalem et specialem rogatum dicti constituentis, sigillum officii nostri apposuimus.

Dat' Cantebr' predict' primo die mensis Augusti anno Domini millesimo .cccc. quadragesimo sexto.

[*Ex originali sub sigillo.*] *Now in Trinity Hall Muniment Room.*

F. Henry Clerk to the Bishop of Ely's Commissioners. 12 August, 1446. [MSS. Baker, XXVII. 321.]

Venerabilibus viris magistris Johanni Welles Legum Doctori, et Willelmo Malster in Decretis Licenciato, Reverendi in Christo Patris et Domini Domini Thome Dei gratia Eliensis Episcopus Commissariis ad infrascripta specialiter et coniunctim deputatis, Henricus Clerk vnus

Mandatariorum vestrorum infrascript' omnimodo Reverentias tantis viris debitas cum honore.

Literas Mandati vestri Reverendi nuper recepi in hec verba.

Johannes Welles Legum Doctor et Willelmus Malster in Decretis Licenciatus Reverendi in Christo Patris et Domini Domini Thome Dei gratia Eliensis Episcopus ad infrascripta commissarii specialiter et coniunctim deputati Dilectis nobis in Christo Ricardo Taylor Henrico Clerk et Willelmo Sannde literatis salutem in Domino sempiternam.

Literas dicti Reverendi Patris nuper cum ea qua decuit Reverentia recepimus tenorem qui sequitur continen'.

[*Dein recitantur Literæ de verbo in verbum vt supra.*]

Quarum quidem literarum auctoritate et vigore, nos commissarii antedicti, tertio die instantis Mensis Augusti iam elapsi in prefata Ecclesia Sancti Edwardi ad communicandum super premissa convenien' judicialiter consedentes, et in dicto negotio, nobis, vt prefertur, commisso, rite et legitime procedere volentes, ad procedendum in negotio predicto diem sabbati tertium decimum diem instantis mensis Augusti in dicta Ecclesia Sancti Edwardi limitavimus et assignavimus, decernen' ipsos diem et locum dicto Reverendo Patri cum ea qua decet reverentia fore intimandos, nec non tam capitulum et Priorem Eliensem ac Dominum Archidiaconum Eliensem quam Priorem et Conventum de Bernwell Eliensis Dioceseos prefat' Ecclesiarum SS. Johannis et Edwardi proprietarios et patronos, vicariosque et parochianos earundem Ecclesiarum, nec non aliquos viros fide dignos et in hac parte indifferentes clericos et laicos dictis ecclesiis convicinos, meliorem notitiam premissarum verisimiliter optinentes, ac alios suum in hac parte putantes interesse in genere, ad dictum diem et locum pro suo et eorum cujuslibet interesse peremptorie fore citandos et vocandos decrevimus.

Quocirca vobis tam conjunctim quam divisim auctoritate qua supra committimus et mandamus quatenus prefatos diem et locum dicto Reverendo Patri cum ea qua decet reverentia intimetis. Citetis insuper seu citari faciatis peremptorie tam prefat' Priorem et Capitulum, Archidiaconum Eliensem, quam dictum Priorem et Conventum vicariosque et parochianos dictarum ecclesiarum, nec non aliquos viros fide dignos et in hac parte indifferentes clericos et laicos dictis Ecclesiis convicinos, meliorem notitiam premissorum verisimiliter optinentes in specie, ac alios suum in hac parte putantes interesse in genere, quod coram nobis in dicta Ecclesia Sancti Edwardi prefat' XIII° die instantis Mensis Augusti compareant, et eorum quilibet comparcat processum nostrum in dicto Inquisitionis et Examinationis negotio visuros et audituros, vlteriusque facturos et recepturos quod qualitas ejusdem negotii requirit et Justitia suadebit. Terminum autem peremptorium predictum propter negotii qualitatem sic duximus assignandum, et quid feceritis in premissis, nos

dictis die et loco debite certificetis †vestris† seu sic certificet ille vestrum qui prius Mandatum nostrum fuerit executus, suis Literis paten' harum seriem continen', ac nomina in hac parte citat' plenius continen' sigillo autentico consignat'

Dat' Cantebr' sub sigillo officialitatis Domini Archidiaconi Eliensis quod ad manus habemus et quo vtimur in hoc negotio quarto die Mensis Angusti anno Domini Millesimo .cccc. quadragesimo sexto.

Cujus quidem auctoritate Mandati vestri Reverendi, ego Henricus Clerk Mandatarius vester predictus, Intimationem dicto Reverendo Patri cum ea qua decuit reverentia fieri feci supradictam. Citavi insuper, et citari feci peremptorie, Priorem et Capitulum ac Archidiaconum Eliensem nec non Priorem et Conventum de Bernwell vicariosque et parochianos supradictos, nec non octo viros fide dignos clericos et laicos in hac parte indifferentes dictis ecclesiis SS. Johannis et Edwardi convicinos, et meliorem notitiam premissorum verisimilius obtinentes in specie ac alios in hac parte suum putantes interesse in genere, quod coram vobis in dicta ecclesia Sancti Edwardi XIII° die instantis mensis compareant, et eorum quilibet compareat facturi et recepturi in omnibus et per omnia quicquid tenor et effectus dicti Mandati vestri exigit et requirit. Aliquos de curatis aliarum ecclesiarum paroch' dicte ville Cantebr' prout voluistis me fecisse in hoc negotio etiam citavissem, et ad hoc diligenter quesivi illos qui in hoc negotio necessarii videbantur; sed eos invenire, aut personali citatione apprehendere, non potui, pro eo quod sicut parochiani sui dixerunt michi, absentes erant a villa et peregre profecti usque Shene et alia pia loca. Nomina autem personarum, ut premittitur, citatorum sunt hec. Willelmus Prior Eliensis, Magister Johannes Stokes Archidiaconus Eliensis, Johannes Prior de Bernwell, Magister Nicholaus Close vicarius dicte ecclesie Sancti Johannis, Rogerus Bowlrig vicarius dicte ecclesie Sancti Edwardi. Nomina autem et cognomina dict' octo virorum fide dignorum per me etiam ad dict' diem et locum citatorum sunt hec; Magistri Johannes Prowet, Johannes Fysshe, et Willelmus Watno Clerici et Magistri in Artibus; Domini Johannes Lurpell et Willelmus Halle presbyteri, Johannes Colbroke, Robertus Maunpas et Galfridus Nevill Laici Burgenses ville Cantebr'; de quibus omnibus et singulis Reverentias vestras hiis Literis meis paten' seriem dicti Mandati vestri, una cum nominibus in hac parte citatorum plenius continen' Sigillo venerabilis viri Domini Cancellarii Universitatis Cantebr' sigillat'. Et nos Johannes Langton dict' Universitatis Cancellarius Sigillum officii nostri, ad specialem requisitionem dicti Mandatarii fecimus hiis apponi.

Dat' Cantebr' duodecimo die Mensis Augusti anno Domini Millesimo quadringentesimo quadragesimo sexto. [*Ex originali sub sigillo.*]

G. Bond of £200, by which Trinity Hall secures to Barnwell Abbey the tithe of sheaves in the united parishes of

S. Edward and S. John. 9 October, 1446. [MSS. Baker, XXVII. 318.]

Presens billa indentata testatur, quod licet Simon Dallyng clericus Custos sive Gardianus Collegii Sancte Trinitatis in Cantabrig' et Socii dicti Collegii teneantur, et per suum scriptum obligatorium sigillo eorum communi sigillatum firmiter obligentur Priori et Conuentui Prioratus de Bernewell in ducentis libris legalis monete Anglie soluend' eisdem Priori et Conventui aut eorum successoribus in festo Omnium Sanctorum prox' futuro post dat' presentium,

Prefati tamen Prior et Conuentus volunt et per presentes concedunt, quod si idem Simon vna cum Sociis eiusdem Collegii vnanimi suo consensu et voluntate per scriptum Sigillo suo communi sigillandum per modum donacionis, dimissionis, concessionis, realis composicionis, siue alias quomodocunque per auisamentum Juris peritorum de consilio prefati Prioris et Conventus firmius et securius fieri poterit, prefatos Priorem et Conuentum et Successores suos legitime intitulaverint in omnibus Decimis garbarum provenientibus et in futurum prouenturis vbilibet infra parochiam Ecclesie Sancti Edwardi in Cantabrig' ac in parochia nuper Ecclesie Sancti Johannis ibidem tunc predicte Ecclesie Sancti Edwardi vnite, et annexe, et incorporate cum omnibus suis iuribus et pertinentiis, hujusmodi Decimis prefatis Priori et Conventui ac eorum successoribus imperpetuum percipiend' habend' et possidend' libere pacifice et quiete sine interrupcione aut impedimento prefat' Simonis Sociorum sive Successorum suorum, proviso quod huiusmodi intitulacio, quocumque nomine censeatur, sub forma sic auisanda realiter fiat infra spacium duorum mensium a die appropriacionis sive Incorporacionis dicte Ecclesie Sancti Edwardi Collegio antedicto continue numerandorum tunc huiusmodi obligatio pro nulla habeatur, sin aliter in suo robore perseveret.

In cujus rei testimonium partes supradicte presenti Indenture sigilla sua communia apposuerunt.

Dat' quoad partem dictarum Indenturarum in Domo Capitulari Prioratus de Bernewell, et quoad aliam partem in dicto Collegio, nono die Mensis Octobris anno Regni Regis Henrici Sexti post conquestum Anglie vicesimo quinto.

[*Ex originali sigillo avulso.*] *Now in Trinity Hall Muniment Room.*

H. Bond of £200 from the Prior of Barnwell to Trinity Hall, by which the Prior binds himself to convey to the College the advowson and patronage of the united Churches of S. John and S. Edward within six months after the date of appropriation

of Kingston to the Convent. 10 October, 1446. [MSS. Baker, XXVII. 326.]

Hec billa indentata testatur quod licet Prior de Bernwell et eiusdem loci conventus teneantur, et per suum scriptum obligatorium sigillo eorum communi sigillatum firmiter obligentur, Simoni Dallyng custodi collegii S. Trinitatis ac sociis eiusdem et eorum successoribus in ducentis libris bone et legalis monete Anglie solvend' eisdem Custodi ac Sociis et eorum successoribus in Festo omnium Sanctorum prox' futuro post Dat' presentium sine ulteriori dilatione

Prefati tamen custos ac socii volunt et per presentes concedunt quod in eventu quo ius advocationis ecclesie Sancti Edwardi et Sancti Johannis eidem ecclesie Sancti Edwardi annexe cum omnibus suis iuribus et pertinentiis per Literas patentes dict' Prioris et Conventus sigillo eorum communi sigillat' metuendissimo Principi Domino Rogi fact' minus legitime concessum seu donatum sit, si idem Prior et Conventus...dimissionem et concessionem de advocationibus et Jure Patronatus ecclesiarum SS. Edwardi et Johannis predict' cum omnibus suis juribus et pertinentiis universis, exceptis decimis garbarum, prefat' Custodi et Sociis ac eorum successoribus in perpetuum possidend' legitime...confirmaverint, ac eosdem custodem et socios in prefat' advocacionibus et Jure Patronatus rite et sufficienter infra sex menses a tempore appropriationis ecclesie parochialis de Kyngston in Com. Cantebr' predictis Priori et Conventui et eorum Prioratui facte proxime numerand' intitulaverint, tunc dicta obligatio pro nulla habeatur, alioqui in omni suo robore permaneat et effectu.

In cuius rei testimonium partes supradicte presentibus indenturis sigilla sua communia apposuerunt. Dat' quoad unam partem dicte Indenture in Collegio S. Trinitatis, et quoad aliam partem in Domo capitulari Prioratus de Bernwell decimo die mensis Octobris Anno regni Regis Henrici Sexti post conquestum vicesimo quinto.

[*Ex originali sub sigillo conventus de Bernwell.*]

J. The Bishop of Ely declares the two parishes united, and appropriates them, thus united, to Trinity Hall. 10 November, 1446. [MSS. Baker, XXVIII. 60.]

Universis sanctæ Matris ecclesiæ filiis ad quos presentes Literæ pervenerint vel in futurum pervenire poterunt Thomas permissione divina Eliensis Episcopus, salutem cum benedictione Salvatoris Jesu Christi et perpetuam rei gestæ memoriam et fidem indubiam presentibus adhibere.

Eo clariori affectu ac feruenciori spiritu supplicancium vota petenciumque preces exaudire debemus, quo necessitates ecclesiarum ac utilitates

rogantium subditorum nostrorum eis suffragari conspicimus. Nuper siquidem pro parte dilectorum in Christo filiorum custodis et collegii scholarium Aulæ Sanctæ Trinitatis in nostra Universitate Cantebr' nobis humiliter extitit intimatum quod redditus et proventus ecclesiæ sancti Johannis Cantebrigie cuius ipsi custos et scholares advocationem et jus patronatus habent, per diversos casus fortuitos, et signanter per constructionem et ædificationem novi Collegii Regalis in honore Beate Marie et Sancti Nicholai de novo constructi et edificati, cuius edificia infra parochiam dicte ecclesie Sancti Johannis noviter iam constructa et a modo verisimiliter construenda, majorem partem soli fundique parochie eiusdem ecclesie, expulsis pristinis Parochianis, qui solum illud ac fundum inhabitabant, notorie occupabant ac occupant, in presenti adeo sunt exinaniti, deteriorati, ac diminuti, tam per destructionem domorum, quam paucitatem inhabitantium, quod ad sustentationem capellani non sufficiant, nec verisimiliter sufficere poterunt in futurum, propter quod nobis humiliter supplicarunt quatenus Ecclesiam predict' sancti Johannis cum omnibus ornamentis et utensilibus ac suis iuribus et pertinenciis vniversis, Ecclesie sive ad Ecclesiam sancti Edwardi Cantebr' cujus etiam advocationem et jus Patronatus optinent, cujus etiam proventus ex causa premissa sunt non modicum diminuti, vnire annectere et incorporare ac unione annexione et Incorporatione predicte ecclesie Sancti Johannis ecclesie sive ad Ecclesiam Sancti Edwardi nostra auctoritate facta, ipsam ecclesiam sancti Edwardi cum suis iuribus et pertinenciis vniversis eis et eorum Collegio ...in vsus proprios perpetuo possidend' concedere unire et appropriare dignaremur; Nos igitur attendentes quod pro doctrina Juris Canonici et Civilis quibus regitur universalis Ecclesia dictum Collegium instructum et fundatum esse dinoscitur, magnumque ex illo Christi ecclesie pervenire speratur commodum verisimiliter in futurum, ob reverentiam etiam sancte et individue Trinitatis, cujus sunt titulo insigniti, eorum petitioni que iusta et consona rationi et divine Majestati beneplacita annuere fortius animamur.

Quapropter super premissis causis, nobis per eos expositis, Inquisitionem fieri fecimus diligenter. Et quia per eandem Inquisitionem, et alia legitima documenta invenimus luculenter dictas causas in omnibus veritatem continere, vocatis omnibus quorum interest in hac parte, et in specie Priore et Capitulo nostre ecclesie Cath. Elien.; magistro Johanne Stoke nostro Archidiacono Eliensi; Priore et Conventu de Bernewell quondam proprietariis et Patronis dict' ecclesiarum SS. Johannis et Edwardi; Magistro Nicholao Close vicario dicte ecclesie sancti Johannis; Domino Rogero Bowbryge vicario ecclesie Sancti Edwardi; nec non Parochianis utriusque ecclesie predict' legitime monitis, et pro eorum interesse citatis ad comparend' coram nobis in Ecclesia predict' sancti Edwardi decimo die mensis Nouembris anno domini millesimo .cccc°. quadragesimo sexto. Ac post modum eisdem die et loco Priore et Conventu ecclesie nostre Cath. Elien.

per Magistrum Nicholaum Fyche in Legibus licentiatum, Magistro Johanne Stokys (*sic*) Archidiacono nostro per Johannem Hunethorn notarium publicum, Priore et Conventu de Bernwell per Dominum Andream Browne fratrem et concanonicum suum, Magistro Nicholao Close per Johannem Conyngton Clericum, Domino Rogero Browbrygge per dictum Johannem Conyngton, ac parochianis dicte ecclesie sancti Johannis per Magistrum Johannem Hurte sacre Theologie et Robertum Spylman in Decretis Bacallarios predicte ecclesie yconomos, et parochianis Sancti Edwardi per Hugonem Dey et Ricardum Sextan Juniorem dict' ecclesie sancti Edwardi yconomos, coram nobis legitime comparentibus, ac Magistro Symone Dallynge predicti Collegii sancte Trinitatis custode in ea parte legitimo Procuratore personaliter comparente et pronunciationem nostram et decretum super premissis fieri petente et humiliter supplicante, de consensu assensu et voluntate omnium et singulorum premissorum, habito super hoc diligenti et solempni tractatu cum Priore et Capitulo dicte ecclesie nostre Cath. Elien. et de eorum consilio et assensu, causas ipsas ad unionem...ecclesie sancti Johannis ecclesie...sancti Edwardi fiendam, nec non ad appropriationem ecclesie sancti Edwardi Collegio sancte Trinitatis Cantebr' faciend' legitimas iustas et veras fuisse et esse pronunciamus...per presentes, ac supradictam ecclesiam sancti Johannis...de et cum dicti nostri capituli Elien. concilio et assensu Juris ordine ac cæteris de jure requisitis in omnibus obseruatis Ecclesio...sancti Edwardi unimus, annectimus, et incorporamus, per presentes.

Ac insuper, habito diligenti et solempni tractatu cum predicto capitulo nostro Elien. eandem ecclesiam sancti Edwardi cum consilio et assensu predicti capituli nostri Elien. et omnium aliorum quorum interest in hac parte, Juris ordine rite observato, prefat' Custodi et Collegio Scolarium ipsisque Scolaribus...in perpetuum...appropriamus...ipsamque Ecclesiam in usus proprios donamus...concedentes dict' Custodi et Collegio Scolarium [etc.] quod cedente vel decedente vicario dicte ecclesie sancti Edwardi qui jam incumbit eidem liceat eis per se vel per procuratorem ad hoc specialiter deputatum predictam Ecclesiam et ejus possessionem auctoritate presentium ingredi omnesque fructus redditus et proventus eiusdem percipere, habere, et de eisdem prout eis videbitur oportunum, disponere, nulla alia auctoritate vel licentia Diocesani vel alterius cujuscunque super hoc petita aliqualiter vel obtenta, proviso quod dicta ecclesia sancti Edwardi divinis non destituatur obsequiis. Verum, quum tenuitas proventuum, tam dicti Collegii quam præfate ecclesie S^{ti} Edwardi, diuisionem commode non patitur, volumus et ordinamus, ac de consilio et assensu dicti nostri capituli Eliensis, dictis custodi et Collegio Scolarium, ac ipsis Scolaribus et eorum successoribus concedimus et statuimus per presentes, quod nullus de cetero in dicta ecclesia S^{ti} Edwardi Vicarius perpetuus deputetur, Set quod per Capellanos parochiales ydoneos stipendarios, dicti Collegii Socios, vel alios quos per annos singulos aut plures duxerint, prout voluerint,

conducendos, valeant futuris temporibus perpetuis licite absque nostra, aut successorum nostrorum, seu cujuscunque alterius impetitione, molestatione, vel contradictione, ecclesie prædicte sancti Edwardi, et eiusdem parochianis facere in divinis officiis et sacramentis ministrari. Super quo dictis Custodi et Collegio Scolarium [etc.], de consilio et assensu dicti nostri Capituli Eliensis, pro nobis et successoribus nostris, licentiam perpetuam impertimur. Et ne jus nostrum negligere videamur, qui alios in suis Justiciis confouere debemus, nobis et successoribus nostris providere cupientes, in recompensationem dampnorum, que nobis ex hujusmodi unione et appropriatione possint contingere, annuam pensionem viginti denariorum in Synodo Paschæ, nobis et successoribus nostris imperpetuum, per prædictos custodem et scolares ac eorum successores fideliter persolvendam; et Archidiacono nostro Eliensi et successoribus suis pro procurationibus et aliis Juribus eis debitis, annuam pensionem quatuor solidorum et octo denariorum per dictos Custodem et Scolares, ac eorum successores, viz. duos solidos et quatuor denarios ad Synodum Paschæ, et duos solidos et quatuor denarios ad Synodum sancti Michaelis fideliter persolvendos reservamus, et eisdem Custodi, Scolaribus et eorum Collegio imponimus per presentes, eosdemque custodem Scolares et eorum successores, ad solutionem predictarum pensionum terminis supradictis, per sequestrationem fructuum dicte ecclesie Sti Edwardi, et alia juris remedia compelli volumus [et] artari. Et Parochiani dicte ecclesie Sti Edwardi denarios Sancti Petri, scilicet viginti denarios; nec non annuum censum, vulgariter *Ely Syluer* nuncupatum, extendentem se annuatim ad summam undecim denariorum utriusque Ecclesie, futuris annis imperpetuum solvere teneantur.

In cujus rei testimonium Sigillum nostrum presentibus apposuimus.

Dat' Cant' in Ecclesia Sancti Edwardi, decimo die mensis Novembris, Anno Domini millesimo cccc°. quadragesimo sexto, et nostre Translationis anno tertio; presentibus tunc ibidem magistris Thoma Turney, Johanne Botrewyke, David Blodewell in Legibus Bacallariis, Johanne Moryell, Willelmo Stafford notariis publicis, et Thoma Wentworthy Norwycen: Eboracen: Assaven: Lincoln: ac Coven: et Lich: Dioc: testibus ad premissa vocatis et rogatis.

Baker adds a note:

"The original under Seal at Trin. Hall endorsed thus: 'Exhibita fuit dicta Appropriatio in visitatione Domini Episcopi Eliensis xi. die Mensis Octob. A°. Dni. MCCCCLXIIII. Anno Cons. xi°. et admissa.' Two seals, the Bishop's, and Prior and Chapter's, are appended."

The deed is a good deal damaged by damp since Baker's time, and the seals are gone. The following ratification of it is on the same parchment.

K. Approbation of the above decree by the Prior and Convent of Ely. 12 November, 1446. [Ibid. 63.]

Et nos Frater Willelmus Prior, et Capitulum Ecclesie Cathedralis Eliensis predicte recognoscimus, et fatemur nos cum dicto Reverendo Patre, super omnibus et singulis suprascriptis, tractatum solempnem, et deliberationem diligentem habuisse; nosque cum deliberatione matura, prehabito tractatu debito, premissis omnibus et singulis concorditer consensisse. Quo circa premissa omnia et singula ex certa scientia approbamus, ratificamus, et quantum in nobis est, vel esse poterit, confirmamus.

In cujus rei testimonium Sigillum Commune Capituli nostri presentibus apposuimus.

Datum in Domo nostra Capitulari duodecimo die mensis Novembris A°. Dni: Millimo: quadringentesimo quadragesimo sexto.

L. Grant by Trinity Hall to Barnwell Abbey of the tithe of sheaves, corn, and hay within the united parishes of S. Edward and S. John, 6 December, 1446. With the ratification of the Bishop of Ely (20 December, 1446) and of Norwich (27 December, 1446). [MSS. Baker, XXVII. 323.]

Universis Sancte Matris Ecclesie filiis, ad quos presentes litere pervenerint, nos Simon Dallyng custos sive Gardianus Collegii S. Trinitatis Cantebr' Elionsis Dioceseos et ejusdem Collegii Socii Salutem in Domino Sempiternam.

Universitatis vestræ notitie deducimus per presentes quod nos ob nonnullas justas veras et legitimas causas, evidentemque necessitatem et utilitatem Collegii nostri antedicti, diligenti inter nos et solempni tractatu atque diligenti consilio prehabitis, de licentia et consensu Illustrissimi Regis Henrici Sexti ac Reverendi in Christo Patris et Domini Domini Thome Dei gratia Eliensis Episcopi et Reverendi in Christo Patris et Domini Domini Walteri Dei gratia Norwicensis Episcopi nostrique Collegii Fundatoris, nostroque communi et unanimi consensu, assensu, et voluntate, Servatis et concurrentibus omnibus et singulis quæ in hac parte de jure vel consuetudine quomodolibet requiruntur donavimus et concessimus, prout etiam tenore presentium donamus et concedimus, venerabilibus et religiosis viris Priori et Conventui Prioratus sive Ecclesie Conventualis Canonicorum Regularium de Bernewell Ordinis Sancti Augustini Eliensis Dioceseos, eorumque successoribus, ac Prioratui seu Ecclesie Conventuali huiusmodi omnes et omnimodas Decimas garbarum, granorum, et feni, cujuscunque generis, infra fines et limites totius Ecclesiæ parochialis Sancti Edwardi, ac totius parochialis Ecclesie Sancti Johannis Cantebr' eidem Ecclesie Sancti Edwardi noviter canonice unite, quæ nobis nuper et memorato Collegio nostro cum suis Juribus et pertinentiis universis fuerunt et sunt Canonice unite

annexe et appropriate, qualitercunque provenien' ot inperpetuum proventuras, in suos proprios usus pro futuris perpetuis temporibus, libere et integraliter possidendas; quodque jus percipiendi et habendi Decimas hujusmodi, nec non possessionem seu quasi ejusdem juris de nobis nostrisque successoribus et Collegio nostro predicto prorsus abdicavimus, prout etiam tenore presentium abdicamus, atque in Religiosos viros Priorem et Conventum predictos ..., ac Prioratum seu Ecclesiam Conventualem antedictam jus et possessionem seu quasi huiusmodi transtulimus, prout etiam tenore presentium transferimus, absque molestatione contradictione seu declamatione aliquali. Ita quod dictis Religiosis viris Priori et conventui eorumque successoribus quandocunque a tempore Dat' presentium liceat Decimas hujusmodi realiter apprehendere, libereque percipere et retinere, et in usus suos ac Prioratus seu ecclesie conventualis predicte imperpetuum convertere, nostra, seu successorum nostrorum, aut alterius cujuscunque licentia alia minime petita vel obtenta; absque supportatione oneris ordinarii sive extraordinarii cujuscunque ad dictas ecclesias Sancti Edwardi et Sancti Johannis modo unitas pertinen'; excepto eo quod dicti Prior et Conventus tantum Decimas Domino: Regi predictis ecclesiis Sancti Edwardi et Sancti Johannis persolvent modo aut quandocunque hujusmodi Decimas concedi contigerit in futurum.

In cujus rei testimonium Sigillum nostrum commune presentibus apposuimus.

Data et acta sunt hec, prout supra scribuntur, in capella nostra, infra collegium nostrum memoratum situata sexto die mensis Decembris, anno Domini Millesimo cccc. quadragesimo sexto.

Et nos Thomas permissione divina Eliensis episcopus quum ex causis suprascriptis, nobis in specie explicatis, deliberatione provida inspectis et examinatis, licentiam hujusmodi nos dedisse et concessisse per presentes fatemur, Donationem, Concessionem, abdicationem et translationem suprascripte Decimarum ceteraque omnia et singula premissa, sic ut premittitur, fuisse et esse facta recognoscimus, eaque et eorum quodlibet, de communi et unanimi assensu et voluntate Prioris et conventus ecclesie nostre Cathedralis Eliensis, diligenti in hac parte per nos cum eis et inter eos, ac solempni tractatu prehabitis, causæque cognitione et Decreti nostri interpositione intervenientibus, ceterisque omnibus et singulis servatis et concurrentibus quæ in hac parte, de jure vel consuetudine requiruntur, nostris consensu et auctoritate ex certa scientia approbauimus, ratificavimus, et confirmavimus, prout etiam tenore presentium approbamus, ratificamus, et confirmamus; omnes defectus, quantum in nobis est, supplentes, si qui forsan intervenerint in hac parte.

In cujus rei testimonium Sigillum nostrum presentibus apposuimus.

Data et acta sunt hec, prout suprascribuntur, in Domo Capitulari Ecclesie nostre Cathedralis predictæ vicesimo die mensis Decembris anno Domini suprascripto.

Et nos Willelmus Prior Ecclesie Cathedralis Eliensis, et ejusdem Ecclesie Conventus, propter premissa specialiter et capitulariter convocati, diligenti et solempni tractatu, atque provida deliberatione inter nos, una cum Reverendo in Christo Patre et Domino Domino Dei gratia Eliensi Episcopo, prehabitis Servatisque omnibus et singulis in hac parte, de jure requisitis, donationi concessioni abdicationi et translationi suprascriptis, ceterisque omnibus et singulis sic, ut premittitur, factis, nostrum communem et unanimem concensum ac voluntatem adhibuimus, ac etiam tenore presentium adhibemus, eaque omnia et singula et eorum quodlibet, quantum in nobis est, approbamus, ratificamus, et confirmamus per presentes.

In cujus rei testimonium Sigillum nostrum commune presentibus apposuimus.

Data et acta sunt prout supra scribuntur, in Domo nostra Capitulari ecclesie Cathedralis Eliensis predictæ vicesimo die mensis Decembris anno Domini suprascripto.

Et nos Walterus permissione divina Norwicensis Episcopus predicti Collegii S. Trinitatis Fundator, de et super donatione, concessione, abdicatione, et translatione supradict' Decimarum, una cum causis earundem per custodem sive Gardianum ac Socios antedictos, secundum formam superius annotatam plenius informati, eisdem donationi, concessioni, abdicationi, et translationi, ceterisque omnibus et singulis, sic ut premittitur, factis etiam nostrum adhibuimus, prout etiam tenore presentium adhibemus concensum, eaque omnia et singula, et eorum quodlibet, quantum in nobis est, approbamus et ratificamus per presentes.

In cujus rei testimonium Sigillum nostrum presentibus apposuimus.

Data et acta sunt hec, prout suprascribuntur, in ecclesia nostra Cathedrali Norwicensi predicta, vicesimo VII° die mensis Decembris Anno Domini supradicto.

[*Ex Archivis Aul. Trin. Cant.*]

M. Trinity Hall grant to King's the grave-yard of S. John Baptist's Church, with the ground on which the Vicarage of the said Church and the Vicarage of S. Edward's Church stood. 29 June, 1448. [MSS. Baker, XXVII. 319.]

Sciant presentes et futuri quod nos Custos Aule Sancte Trinitatis Vniversitatis Cantebr' Socii et Scholares ejusdem...confirmavimus excellentissimo Principi...Henrico Dei gratia Regi Anglie et Francie et Domino Hibernie Sexto post Conquestum

quoddam solum et fundum quæ fuerunt cimiterium Ecclesie parochialis Sancti Johannis Baptiste Cantebr', ac solum et fundum quæ nuper fuerunt vicaria ejusdem ecclesie nec non totum solum et fundum quae fuerunt

vicaria ecclesie parochialis Sancti Edwardi Cantebr' nuper vocat' *Seint Edwardes-hostell* et quicquid habemus seu nobis pertinere possit infra bundas sive limites cimiterii ecclesie parochialis Sancti Johannis Baptiste predicte, habend' et tenend' omnia et singula premissa eidem Domino nostro Regi...imperpetuum.

In cuius rei testimonium huic presenti carte nostre sigillum nostrum commune apposuimus hiis testibus. W. Winton Episcopo; H. Duce Exon; W. Duce Suff.; J. vicecomite Beamont, Jacobo Domino de Say, Thoma Stanley, Willelmo Beauchamp, militibus, Thoma Crosse, Maiore ville Cantebr', Willelmo Tame, Willelmo Roger, Thoma Fordham, et Johanne Serjeant Ballivis eiusdem ville.

Dat' apud Cantebr' die veneris in vigilia Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, anno Regni Domini nostri Regis supradicti vicesimo sexto.

[*Ex originali sub sigillo.*]

N. Letters patent of Henry the Sixth, making the Church of S. John a Parish Church. 20 June, 1453. [King's College Muniments, M. 36.]

Ereccio in ecclesiam parochialem.

Henricus...Sciatis quod cum...Collegium Regale in vniversitate Cantebr' infra parochiam olim sancti Johannis Baptiste ville Cantebr'...erexerimus et fundauerimus eciam in loco vbi dicta olim ecclesia parochialis sancti Johannis Baptiste fuerat edificata Ipsaque olim ecclesia per edificacionem et construccionem dicti Collegii et domorum eiusdem funditus extiterit demolita Ac aliam ecclesiam in honore sancti Johannis Baptisti prope et iuxta Collegium predictum de nouo construi et edificari fecerimus nostris sumptibus et expensis

Nos auctoritate voluntate et consensu Reverendi patris Thome Elien' Episcopi...prefatam ecclesiam in honore sancti Johannis Baptiste vt premittitur per nos et nostris sumptibus iuxta predictum Collegium...de nouo erectam et constructam...in ecclesiam parochialem erigimus fundamus et stabilimus...per Rectorem secularem perpetuum in eadem canonice instituendam regendam et gubernandam.

Et ulterius...in dotacionem eiusdem ecclesie ac sustentacionem Rectoris eiusdem necnon onerum eidem incumbencium damus...ei per presentes decem libras percipiend' annuatim de quadam firma quam Cancellarius vniversitatis Cantebr' et successores sui ac eorum vicem gerentes soli et in solid' nobis debuerunt seu debere consueuerunt per annum de seu pro custodiis assise panis et ceruisie ac correccione et punicione eiusdem cum

omnibus finibus et amerciamentis ac aliis proficuis inde prouenientibus ac eciam custodia assise et assaie ac superuisione mensurarum et ponderum in dicta villa Cantebr' et suburbiis eiusdem per manus Cancellarii vniuersitatis predicte seu eius vicem gerentis ibidem pro tempore existen' ad festa Pasche et sancti Michaelis Archangeli per equales porciones imperpetuum.

In cuius rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste me ipso apud Westmonasterium vicesimo die Junii Anno regni nostri tricesimo primo.

Endorsed "per ipsum Regem et de data predicta auctoritate parliamenti."

O. Letters patent of the same, granting the advowson of the reconstructed Church of S. John Baptist to King's College. 20 June, 1453. [King's College Muniments, M. 7.]

Aduocacio ecclesie parochialis sancti Johannis Baptiste in Cantebr'.

Henricus...Sciatis quod...concessimus...preposito et Scolaribus Collegii nostri Regalis...patronatum siue aduocacionem ecclesie parochialis sancti Johannis Baptiste in Cantebr' per nos de nostris sumptibus iuxta predictum nostrum Collegium Regale in eadem villa de nouo erecte et constructe. Habend' et tenend'... In cuius rei testimonium has litteras nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste me ipso apud Westmonasterium vicesimo die Junii Anno regni nostri tricesimo.

Endorsed "per ipsum Regem r' de data predicta auctoritate parliamenti."

P. Letters patent of the same, confirming the said annual revenue of £10 to William Towne, who had been presented to the said Church by the Provost and Fellows. 29 June, 1453. [King's College Muniments, M. 81.]

Dotacio ecclesie sancti Johannis Baptiste.

Henricus...Sciatis quod cum nos nuper ad laudem gloriam et honorem Dei et sancti Johannis Baptiste Christi precursoris quandam ecclesiam nostris sumptibus iuxta Collegium nostrum Regale...de nouo construxerimus et in ecclesiam parochialem erexerimus fundauerimus et stabiliuerimus perpetuis temporibus futuris duraturam per Rectorem secularem perpetuum in eadem instituend' regendam et gubernandam; Et in dotacionem eiusdem ecclesie ac sustentacionem Rectoris eiusdem necnon onerum eidem incumbencium assignauerimus ei decem libras percipiend' annuatim de quadam firma quam Cancellarius uniuersitatis nostre Cantebr' et successores sui...nobis debuerunt...per annum de seu pro custodiis assis' panis

et ceruisie ac correccione et punicione eiusdem cum omnibus finibus et amerciamentis et aliis proficuis inde proueniont' Ac eciam custodia assise et assaie et superuisione mensurarum et ponderum in dicta villa Cantebr' et suburbiis eiusdem per manus Cancellarii...ad festa Pasche et sancti Michaelis Archangeli per equales porciones prout in literis nostris patentibus inde confectis plenius continetur. Et postmodum per alias literas nostras patentes dederimus et concesserimus dilectis nobis in Christo preposito et Scolaribus Collegii nostri Regalis...patronatum siue advocacionem ecclesie predicte... Nos...ad perpetuam dotacionem ecclesie predicte ac sustentacionem dilecti nobis magistri Willelmi Towne sacre pagine professoris per predictos prepositum et Scolares Reverendo in Christo patri Thome Eliensi Episcopo loci illius diocesano ad ecclesiam predictam presentati et per eundem Episcopum ad eandem admissi et in eadem canonice inducti et instituti Rectoris in eadem; Dedimus...eidem magistro Willelmo Towne decem libras percipiend' annuatim sibi et successoribus suis Rectoribus eiusdem ecclesie imperpetuum de predicta summa...

In cuius rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste me ipso apud Westmonasterium vicesimo nono die Junii Anno regni nostri tricesimo primo.

Endorsed "per ipsum Regem et de data predicta auctoritate parliamenti."

Most of the preceding documents have been copied from the Baker MSS. Unfortunately Baker rarely gives authorities, and my efforts to discover where the originals now are have not always been successful. Those that are still in Trinity Hall Muniment Room have been carefully collated. Bishop Bourchier's Register is at Ely, but it contains only the presentation and admission of Nicholas Close, quoted below. I have therefore been obliged to print them according to Baker's transcripts, with errors which it is easier to detect than to correct.

Q. Presentation and admission of Nicholas Close to the Vicarage of S. John Baptist by the Prior and Convent of Barnwell, 16 May and 8 October, 1445. [Bishop Bourchier's Register, fo. 60.]

Reuerendo in Christo patri et domino domino Thome dei gratia Eliens' Episcopo vestro ve Commiss' in hac parte cuicunque.

Vestri humiles et deuoti filii prior et conuentus prioratus de Barnewell

ordinis Sancti Augustini vestre dioc' Eliens'.....ad vicariam perpetuam ecclesie paroch' Sancti Johannis Cantebr' in Milnestret dicte vestre dioc' Elien' per liberam designacionem Magistri Willelmi Sutton in decretis doctoris vltimi vicarii eiusdem vacantem et ad nostram presentacionem spectantem dilectum nobis in Christo Magistrum Nicholaum Cloos in Theologia doctorem paternitati vestre Reuerend' presentamus, intuitu caritatis humiliter dictam vestram paternitatem Reuerendam exorantes quatenus dictum Nicholaum ad eandem vicariam admittere, eumque instituere ac inuestire in eadem cum omnibus suis pertinentiis vniuersis dignemini.

Dat' in domo nostra capitulari sexto decimo die Mensis Maii Anno domini Millesimo cccc xl^mo^ quinto.

Octauo die Mensis Octobris Anno domini supradicto apud Cantabrigiam per Magistrum Willelmum Spaldyng Officiarium Eliensem ac Vicarium in spiritualibus generalem prefatus Magister Nicholaus in persona Johannis Connyngton procuratoris sui sufficient' ad hoc...constituti et ipse Johannes Connyngton procurator antedictus in persona prefati Magistri Nicholai admissus fuit et canonice institutus in eadem et iuramentum prestitit de continue et personaliter residendo in eadem iuxta formam Constitucionum legitimarum in ea parte editarum.

Et scriptum fuit Archidiacono Eliensi eius ve offic' ad inducend' eundem vt in forma communi.

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XXVII. On Eight Swords. Communicated by W. Wareing Faulder, Esq., Downing College. (With one Plate.)

[December 1, 1879.]

I have selected eight swords from my collection for exhibition, the first of which is interesting on account of its bearing *English* inscriptions on its blade. Nearly all old sword-blades are inscribed, some with a reference to their ownership, others with religious or chivalrous sentiments, and others again with the maker's name. These last are much the most common. It is however most rare to find any weapon earlier than the time of James II. bearing English words. This is accounted for by the circumstance of nearly all arms of the 16th and 17th centuries being of Spanish, German, or Italian manufacture. This sword, a cup-hilted rapier of the time of Elizabeth, is inscribed on one side the blade

××FOR×MY×CHRIST×RESOLVED×TO×DY××

and on the other

××VHO×HAVES×ME×LET×HIM×WAREME××

The meaning of this latter inscription is somewhat doubtful. I used to read it "Who has (or owns) me, let him wear me

(and not leave me inactive, rusting on a shelf)," having in my mind an inscription on a spur of about the same date preserved in the Tower of London, "Win Theme and Ware Theme. 1574", but mentioning the matter to Mr Lewis of Corpus Christi College, whose antiquarian knowledge is always at the service of his friends, he suggested that the motto should read "Who hates me let him ware (beware of) me," a sentiment something like "Nemo me impune lacessit." Professor Skeat has pointed out that this reading seems the more probable when this inscription is taken together with the other one, "For my Christ resolved to dy." Here the word *my* certainly refers to the owner of the sword, not to the sword itself. Hence it may be inferred that it is he who is supposed to be the speaker in the second inscription. With regard to the letter V being substituted for T in the second word, I would excuse the armourer because he probably could not read, and also because the inscription is in a language that would be foreign to him, the rapier being of German manufacture. I have the photograph of a sword found under the floor of an old house in Buckinghamshire which is evidently by the same hand as this one. The hilt is similar both in design and ornamentation, and the blade is of the same form and proportion, but instead of these inscriptions it bears the name of Clemens Hornn of Solingen, a well-known armourer of the latter part of the 16th century, a first-class sword-maker, but one who would hardly be likely to know any language except his own.

No. 2 is a sword interesting both from the rare form of its hilt and also from the circumstances of its discovery. I have received the following account of the latter. Upon the death of a former rector of Netherbury Beaminster, Dorsetshire, a grave was made for him just outside the east end of the chancel of his church, and in doing this an old tomb was opened in which was a coffin, and upon the lid being removed

this sword was discovered. The weapon remained in the possession of the sexton for a long time, and from him passed into the hands of the head master of the Grammar School, from whom I obtained it.

The tomb from which the sword came has always been considered by local antiquaries to be that of a Knight Templar of the 13th or 14th century, and as it bears as a crest or badge a moorcock they have conjectured that the knight's name was More. I do not think there is sufficient ground for the latter conclusion, and as I have had no opportunity of examining the tomb I cannot say what value is to be attached to the former; but supposing it to be true, interments must have been made in the tomb at a later time, as the sword is undoubtedly of a date between 1550 and 1580. The blade is inscribed in letters which seem characteristic of the earlier part of that period:

the name (taken from a village near Toledo) of a family of armourers of the 16th and 17th centuries. This sword is probably by Alonzo de Sahagom, one of the most eminent of the sword-makers of Toledo, who flourished about 1570. The hilt is of a shape extremely rare, and very interesting on account of its being the original form from which was developed the basket-hilt of the broadsword (commonly but erroneously called a Highland claymore) used generally by horsemen during the 17th century. It has long cross-guards projecting beyond the basket both ways; above these is the basket, and below is a *pas d'ane* guard similar to what is generally found below the cross-guard of the knight's sword (or espadon) of the time of Henry VIII. or Edward VI.

For comparison I exhibit a long horseman's broadsword

of the time of Charles I. (No. 3), a specimen which vindicates its claim to be a cavalry weapon by the ring in the hilt through which the bridle was passed. The similarity between the baskets will be at once apparent; the *pas d'ane* however, which in the horseman's sword is merely conventional, in the knight's sword is really for use, the guard on the outside being shaped so as to cover and protect the forefinger when passed below the cross-guard, that on the inside performing the same office for the thumb when the sword is held in the ordinary manner. The pommel seems characteristic rather of the time of Henry VIII. than of a later period.

No. 4 is a portion of a Couteau de Chasse of the early part of the 17th century. The hilt is of silver, beautifully chased, and as perfect as when it came from the hand of the armourer. On the pommel is an eagle pouncing on its prey and a representation of Jupiter and Leda. On each side of the knuckle-guard is a full-length figure in armour, and at the lower part of the hilt are the figures of a spread eagle and a doe. On the plate which covers the opening of the sheath is represented an Arcadian scene. The grip is of buckhorn, which however now looks more like ebony. The portion of the blade remaining in the hilt is about four inches in length and is very much corroded. This relic was found in 1832 at Oswestry, Salop, by some workmen employed by the late Mr Sabine in building stables in a field at the back of his house near that town. Mr Sabine gave me the following account of its discovery. Whilst digging foundations the workmen turned up this sword-hilt together with the sheath and the rest of the blade. When exposed to the air the sheath fell to pieces, and unfortunately the silver sheath-mounts and the broken blade are now lost. This sword was of a description not uncommon among cavaliers and gentlemen in the time of Charles I., and very generally used at the close

of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century. There can hardly be any reasonable doubt that it was dropped by some unfortunate cavalier in the rout to which the Royalist army was put by Sir Thomas Myddleton, when it made an attempt to regain possession of Oswestry on the 2nd of July, 1644, after the capture of that town by the Parliamentarians. Sir Thomas in his account of the affair says, "They had taken the passage of water near to Whittington and very furiously assaulted and charged us, but were repulsed and forced to retyre, through the courage of our horse, who most courageously entertained the enemy. Three several times the skirmish was doubtful, either side being forced so often to retreat; but in the end, our foot forces coming up, relieved the horse, beat back the enemy, and persued them with such force that they put them to an absolute flight, in which we persued them five miles towards Shrewsbury to a place called Felton Heath, and where we likewise remained after their flight again, masters of the field. In the skirmish with the enemy and in the pursuite we lost several of our horse, some of our troopers, but never a footman which I am yet informed of. As for the enemy, they lost many stout men; had many of them taken prisoners, some of them being of great quality, as Lord Newport's eldest son, and besides, in their flight, such was their haste, that we found in our pursuite, the highway as it were strewed with ammunition, &c." I give Sir Thomas Myddleton's description of the fight in full because it is a quaint and graphic piece of writing, but the point to which I wish to call attention is that he states that the Royalists were pursued for several miles along the road to Shrewsbury, and as this road, which he remarks was strewed with ammunition, &c., dropped by the Royalists in their haste, formerly passed through the field in which the sword was found, and as it would be hardly likely that any one would part with a silver-

mounted weapon except under necessity, it can with almost absolute certainty be decided that this sword was worn and lost, perhaps with the life of its wearer, in this disastrous retreat.

No. 5 is a Venetian sword of the middle of the 16th century. The hilt is of a very rare form, the cross guards projecting beyond the basket both ways, and, with their ends curved towards the blade, recalling the sword of the 13th century. This is one of the most florid and elegant swords I have ever met with. I think it not unlikely that the perforations in the hilt may have held jewels.

No. 6, a horseman's sword of the time of Charles I., is of a form very common in England on account of its being in use at the time of the Civil War between the King and the Parliament. The hilt is basket-shaped and is embossed and chased, among the ornaments being a number of heads, one of which renders this sword remarkable. This head is on the front of the basket, the long wavy hair and curled moustaches are those of a cavalier, and in the mouth is held a most unmistakable short pipe, showing us that in spite of the march of luxury smoking is still very much where it was two centuries and a half ago, for the pipe represented on the sword-hilt is of identically the same shape as those which are, I believe, still the favourites among smokers.

No. 7 is an example of the cup-hilted rapier used generally for duelling at the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century. It has a plain cup, a very fine grip of silver wire, and a long blade with deep grooves in which are inscribed some words, of which I have only as yet deciphered one, SOLINGEN. The other words are probably the maker's name, or that of the street in which he lived.

No. 8 is a long rapier of the time of Elizabeth. It is remarkable on account of the elegant form and large size of the hilt. The grip is of a very uncommon shape. The long

four-sided blade bears upon its *talon* an armourer's mark consisting of a dial or clock-face surmounted by a crown. I conjecture this mark to belong to Clemens Hornn, whom I have mentioned before. He often signed his name Clemens Horum (perhaps thinking that Horum was the Latin for Hornn) and may have adopted this clock-face as his trademark in consequence. This view will be to a certain extent confirmed by comparing the grip of this rapier with that of a sword in my collection (engraved in Sir S. Scott's "British Army," page 182), which bears the name of Clemens Hornn in full, both the grips being of the same unusual form.

XXVIII. On A Mummy's Treasures recently discovered in the Delta. Communicated by C. W. King, M.A., Trinity College.

[December 1, 1879.]

A discovery, equally uncommon and instructive, as placing before our eyes what coinages of Greece and Asia were in circulation at one and the same time, was recently made upon opening a mummy-case exhumed somewhere in the Delta.

It contained amongst other *inferiæ* a deposit of seventeen silver coins, minted by several different and far-distant nations; in general fresh from the die, as if carefully selected samples out of some miscellaneous treasure. Names and denominations are as follows: Abdera, tetradrachm: Acanthus, tetradrachm: Athens, three hemidrachms: the drachma now assigned to Babylon, with view of the city walls; Barca with Head of Ammon in profile, two tetradrachms and two hemidrachms: Chios, didrachm: Citium, didrachm: Lycia, with the grappling-iron (or flesh-hook), the supposed rebus on the name of the first Satrap of that country, "Harpagus," didrachm: a didrachm of Macedonia: the great octodrachm formerly ascribed to Alexander I., but now to the Bisaltae of Thrace,

and valued at £60: Persia, the half-silver Daric: Syracuse, tetradrachm plated, with a deep chisel-cut[1] across the field to test its quality: Tarsus, tetradrachm, with figure of the Satrap on his throne.

Of these coins three were pierced, and furnished with loops of silver wire for conversion into ear-rings: these were hemidrachms of Athens, Barca, and the Persian piece.

All these coins exhibit the most archaic style of their respective mints; the larger denominations having for reverse the simple indented square without any type inserted. The didrachm of Citium bears the *crux ansata* within the square.

A ray of light, perhaps delusive, appeared to me to be thrown upon the motive for thus collecting specimens of the currency of so many different *emporia* so widely scattered over the uttermost parts of the then known world, by a very insignificant-looking article that caught my eye amongst the few other accompaniments of the interment that found their way to this country; but which, taken together, all bear evidence in the same direction. These little relics may be thus described:

A small scarabeoid, not engraved, in fine highly-polished sard, without any setting is to be noted; also a scarabeus-signet, engraved with a cow, in the exact style of art, and in the same material (green serpentine), as those so plentifully found in the tombs of Tharros in Sardinia—from which country it most probably had followed its owner to the tomb. Last of all comes the key (as I take it) to the whole mystery, in the shape of a little scarabeoid of green serpentine, bearing for device ♌ the mystic conjunction of Baalhammon with Ashtaroth, rudely done, but yet unmistakeable to any one acquainted with the symbol. This remarkable diagram—

[1] So frequently found on the most ancient Athenian silver, and supposed, on good grounds, a memorial of Xerxes' conquest.

the regular badge of the Phœnician race, and the distinctive mark of all their monuments, coins, seals, &c. — leaves no doubt as to the nationality of the inmate of the Egyptian coffin.

This essential point being established, to build upon it a theory that shall fully account for the presence, as well as the variety, of the pieces of silver becomes as easy, as it is fascinating to the imagination.

These coins accompany the Phœnician trader in death to mark the course of his long and adventurous career: they tell how in the pursuit of gain he had visited all the regions of the civilised world, from Northern Thrace to the furthest cities of the then explored South—until the hour came for him to "furl[1] the sails of Life" in the quiet harbour of the Catacombs. It is evident that the money was not deposited with him merely as treasure, or as a fee to the gods of the Lower World, for that purpose would have been better fulfilled by the regular currency of the land where the Phœnician had found his resting-place—that currency consisting in rings of gold and silver—or again, if actual coined money was for some unknown reason, considered as most appropriate for sepulchral honours, his friends would naturally have taken the pieces most generally current in their markets; such as the Athenian tetradrachms of world-wide reputation, or those of the nearer Cyrene, or Cyprus. Some very cogent motive must have led them to select such out-of-the-way and scarce money as the octodrachm of Thrace, the didrachm of Citium, or the Babylonian drachma.

Again, it must not be overlooked that the native country of the inmate of the Egyptian tomb is pretty clearly pointed out by another circumstance, which is the *ear-rings* found

[1] A beautiful ancient metaphor, pictorially exhibited on the monument of Nævoleia Tyche at Pompeii.

amongst his other personal ornaments. That the wearing of ear-rings was the national custom with the Punic race is humorously evidenced by Plautus' joke upon it in his 'Poenulus:'—

> "They have, methinks no fingers to their hands,
> For why? Because they wear their rings in the ear!"
> *Poenulus*, v. ii. 20, 21.

As for the *date* of the deposit, its superior limit is fixed by the presence of the silver half-daric, a coin not in existence before the reign of Darius Hystaspis, whose mintage in gold, the first seen in Persia, was imitated (to his own destruction) in silver by Aryandes, Satrap of Egypt. None of the Greek pieces can be placed more than a century later than the same period, so archaic is the style of all. A silver signet-ring, found with the rest, is engraved with a *cartouche* which has been read as the name of Psammetichus (who reigned down to B.C. 617). This king is recorded as a great patron of commerce and the arts, and as the first to open his country to the Greeks — all which circumstances combine to prove him a prince to encourage those fathers of navigation and trade, his neighbours of Phœnicia; and equally tend to the support of the theory advanced in the foregoing pages.

Since in this age of forgery and imposition in every department of antiquity (as in all else) every discovery of unusual nature necessarily excites a feeling of suspicion in the experienced mind, it is right to add that the very appearance of the pieces composing the hoard is the best testimony to the story of its *provenance*. The various coins are covered with a black oxide of the same nature and thickness, that nothing but their lying together for so many centuries under the same chemical influences could have produced by the slow decomposition of the native lead, which had escaped the skill of the ancient refiner; and their condition adds fresh evidence to

that already furnished by the contemporary archaism of their style of art. Besides this, the extreme rarity and present enormous price of the greater part of these coins preclude even the possibility of the idea, that their deposit was merely a trick of some modern antiquity-broker. The accurate knowledge of numismatics and epochs of art demanded by the placing these specimens side by side, so that no glaring discrepancy in the age of any should offend the intelligent observer, is far beyond the flight of the Greek or Italian agent who was employed in the present instance.

Every one that is imbued with the true spirit of an archæologist will acknowledge, that high as is the numismatic value of these seventeen coins individually, yet their main importance consists in their union, and the record which that union preserves of the commercial history of the times, and (if there is any weight in the preceding deductions) of the personal history of their owner. All praise therefore is due to Canon Greenwell, who when the offer of the hoard intact had been rejected "for want of funds" (*more solito*) by the great National Museum, came forward in the most spirited manner to preserve the integrity of the discovery by bidding for it on his own account[1] at any price.

No particulars of the disinterment of the *mummy* have reached this country; the last proprietor, resident at Cairo, had forwarded the ornaments and coins for sale to Mr Whelan, 61, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, to whose politeness I owe the pleasure of examining the find with all the attention that its importance deserves, during the August of the present

[1] Alas! in vain—his letter by an unfortunate *accident*, was not opened before the coins were dispersed amongst the *clientèle* of Messrs. Feuardent and Rollin at Paris. The signet and gems have, happily, passed into the hands of Mr A. W. Franks, the ear-rings into those of the Rev. S. S. Lewis; the latter are figured on the following page.

year (1879), and have drawn up this notice with all the accuracy in my power, thinking it a loss to archæology that a discovery of so unprecedented a character should be suffered to pass away without any record.

Ear-rings described on pages 386 and 389 engraved to one and a half of the original size.

XXIX. The Triumph of Constantine. Communicated by the Rev. C. W. King, M.A. Trinity College.

[May 10th, 1880.]

A cameo of great importance in itself, and by far the most important of all similar works of the Lower Empire hitherto published, came lately into the possession of my correspondent, Tobias Biehler[1], of Vienna; to whose kindness I am indebted for an excellent autotype, of the size of the original, from which the wood-cut on page 393 has been engraved. It is an agate-onyx of very considerable dimensions (6 × 4 in.), being the eleventh in point of magnitude of those already existing in any cabinet; the relief is kept rather flat in the white stratum.

The subject is an Emperor crowned by a Victory who stands behind him, borne in a triumphal car; the four horses walking, and led by a soldier in front. The Emperor holds the reins in his left hand, but in his right a scroll (*volumen*) instead of the customary eagle-tipped sceptre:

"...volucrem quae sceptro surgit eburno"

a deviation from the hitherto unvarying rule in that particular, which is certainly not without its significance. Before him is carried the *Labarum*, of the exact pattern described by

[1] Herr Biehler acquired it from the widow of a Greek named Tyrtra, who said that it was purchased in Italy about thirty years ago.

Eusebius in giving the history of its celestial dictation to Constantine, being a mere square piece of some precious cloth[1], surmounted by the Monogram of Christ in its simplest form

the very one revealed by the Saviour himself to the emperor in the memorable vision of the night preceding the decisive battle with Maxentius. It is worthy of notice that the pole of the sacred banner is not the ordinary spear-staff, but a rough tree-stem, like that regularly used in the construction of a trophy; thus recalling the expression of Venantius Fortunatus,

"...super crucis tropaeo dic triumphum nobilem."

A similar sentiment may perhaps have suggested to the engraver this remarkable change in the representation of the labarum from that in which it appears on the other monuments of its times. This is preceded by a standard inscribed S. P. Q. R., the bearers of both being concealed by the horses of the car; as are also the lictors, whose fasces are seen elevated in the air above the horses' backs, in the upper field of the composition. Behind the car stand a senator in the toga, and a matron in full dress; both in front face; the former is pointing to the labarum, and evidently relating to his companion all the circumstances of its introduction into the scene. At the opposite end of the design stands another matron in a similar position: who with the soldier leading the quadriga, forms a balance to the other pair. As neither of these female figures carries any distinctive attribute, they are not allegorical personages (who might have been expected in a representation of this sort), but are merely introduced to represent the crowd of spectators.

The skilful composition and good execution of details strike

[1] "From the transverse pole...a sort of hanging cloth was suspended, a royal texture, covered with a variety of precious stones." (*τοῦ δὲ πλαγίου κέρως...ἐθόνη τις ἐκκρεμὴς ἀπηώρητο, βασιλικὸν ὕφασμα, ποικιλίᾳ συνημμένων πολυτελῶν λίθων φωτὸς αὐγαῖς ἐξαστραπτόντων καλυπτόμενον Vita Constantini*, I. 31.)

us with surprise in a work coming so far down into the Decline as the presence of the Christian banner obliges us to place it, and contrast most favourably with the style of the contemporary[1] "Triumph of Licinius" (Paris Cabinet), the latest of the class previously known. This in form is an oval of 4 by 2¼ inches, and exhibits in flat relief the emperor erect upon his triumphal quadriga, seen in front face. Over his head on either side float Sol and Luna, each bearing a long flambeau to indicate their character, and each presenting to him a globe, to typify that the East and the West are obedient to his power. Two Victories lead the off-horses; one bears a trophy, the other the *labarum*, emblazoned with the portraits of *two* emperors; an important circumstance, upon which the attribution of the subject to Licinius is principally founded. On the foreground are strewn the corpses of the vanquished foe, artistically grouped in various attitudes of prostration. The design has considerable merit in point of composition, although the figures themselves betray the stiffness marking the period, and bear much analogy in execution to the earliest productions of the regular Byzantine school. The most unlooked-for superiority of style and execution in the piece before us at first excites suspicion of its modern origin, which, doubtless, it will be very difficult to dispel. But, after the minutest examination of all the evidences offered by the work itself, they equally combine in proving its genuine antiquity.

To take these evidences in detail: the horses of the quadriga exhibit the true Roman stiffness of movement—the human figures all the squatness of the Decline that invariably stamps its sculptures, large or small alike; the costume of the soldier, far from being the conventional Homeric *thorax* (beyond which the Cinque-cento School had no other idea of antique armour), is a

[1] Published and figured for the first time by Chabouillet in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1853, pl. 206, pp. 764—769.

thick tunic, probably of quilted linen, together with a helmet—particulars bespeaking the late period of the Roman military system when all body-armour had been discarded by the effeminate infantry, whose defence was then reduced to the shield —whilst the dress of the civilians has a reality about it that looks as if copied from the life.

The Caesar wears the laurel-wreath, marking his character of "Imperator;" whilst the Victory holds the *triumphal* crown above his head, and thus discharges the duty of the "sudans publicus," who stood in the same place in the times of Juvenal.

One thing remains to be considered—the nature of the *volumen*, so conspicuously elevated in the triumpher's hand. The character of the event here commemorated forbids our taking it for the folded napkin, *mappa circensis*, used for giving the signal for the chariot-races, and therefore the regular badge of the Consul, after his chief function had degenerated into presiding at the Hippodrome. Is it possible that this roll, held up so significantly as if pointing to the *Chrisma* topping the labarum, may be the Book of the Gospels, and thus indicate the source to which the pious victor ascribes the triumph which this monument perpetuates?

Much labour and skill has been expended by the artist upon the *face* of the triumphing Caesar, in order to leave no doubt as to his identity; and with such success that the well-known, Augustus-like, profile of Constantine may be recognised at the first glance. Nevertheless, the family likeness is so strong in all the sons that his successor, Constantius, may be the real actor in the scene—a supposition not without some circumstances in its favour that may recommend it to our preference. There was a great revival of the glyptic art during the long and luxurious reign of the last-surviving son of Constantine, as is manifested by the abundance and fine execution of his gold medallions, and—what bears more directly upon the

present question—by his celebrated sapphire[1] signet, an engraving the difficulty of which would have baffled the skill of the best ages that preceded his. The action, too, of pointing to the Chrisma would well befit the character of a prince who passed the fateful hours of the Battle of Mursa in prayer with his chaplains in a neighbouring church, instead of charging at the head of his *cataphractarii* as his father would have done. No great weight, however, is to be given to this consideration, if we are disposed to believe the statement of Eusebius[2], that Constantine himself, upon gaining possession of Rome, erected his own statue bearing a spear tipped with the Monogram of Christ, in memory of his celebrated vision. This statue is, very probably, the original of the figure on the well-known coin of his son, with the legend "Hoc signo victor eris."

That historical compositions, even more elaborate in detail than the present cameo, were not beyond the artistic ability of Constantine's period, is curiously attested by an ivory bas-relief[3] preserved in the Cathedral Treasury at Trèves, and figured on page 399. Here we see that nursing-mother of the Church, the

[1] This is the only imperial signet preserved, respecting whose original destination no doubt can be entertained; it is quoted as being in the Rinuccini Cabinet at Florence. The stone, of uncommon beauty and weighing 53 carats, is engraved with the representation of what the Roman Nimrod doubtless regarded as the most brilliant exploit of his inglorious reign. The Emperor is seen in the act of spearing a monstrous wild boar, entitled ΞΙΦΙΑC, in the plains of Cæsarea, that city being typified by a recumbent female figure, with her name written in the phonetic orthography of the times as ΚΘCΑΡΙΑ ΚΑΠΠΑΔΟΚΙΑC. In the field, the *Latin* CONSTANTIVS AVG makes it manifest that the intaglio was destined for the emperor's own use as his "privy seal"—an inference supported by the very careful execution of the work, as well as by the high intrinsic value of the gem. Banduri gives a faithful drawing of this signet in the plate of Constantius's *aurei*, in his "*Numismata Imp. Rom.*, &c."

[2] *Vita Constantini*, 1. cap. XL.

[3] First published by Mr Westwood in the *Archæological Journal*, Vol. XX., page 148: it has also been figured to the original size ($5\frac{3}{8} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$ in.), and described by E. aus'm Weerth in *Kunstdenkmäler des Christlichen Mittelalters in den Rheinlanden*, pl. LVIII. 1, bd. III., page 88.

Empress Helena, seated at the front door of her hardly finished basilica—a fact ingeniously expressed by two tilers still at work upon the roof. She bears a long Latin cross in lieu of sceptre, and several strings of immense pearls about her neck, to mark her imperial dignity. She is approached by a procession of many figures (originally twelve) headed by her son, to be recognised by the diadem round his head, and the huge jewelled fibula upon his shoulder, which fastens the imperial mantle. All these figures carry large wax tapers in their right hands, as in a triumphal procession. After them comes the group whose errand is the primary object commemorated in this memorial. Two *bearded* monks (thus distinguished from the lay actors) are seated on a square and lofty car drawn by mules—the actual *thensa* of the ancient religion, differing in nothing from that of Ceres save in the nature of the subjects carved upon its sides. These saintly personages carry between them on their laps a large coffer, containing the relics indispensable in the belief of the age to give virtue to the altar in the newly erected sanctuary. The entire scene is backed by the long façade of the Porta Nigra, its three tiers of windows filled with spectators—the middle one with ladies only, each of whom holds forth a lamp suspended from a short chain. In design this ivory carving exhibits a marked similarity to the cameo, especially in the squatness of the figures, the arrangement of the drapery, and the movement of the quadrupeds. But the execution of each displays the difference necessarily to be looked for in works, the one produced by a half-civilised Belgic carver, and the other by the most skilful Greek then to be found amongst the *artifices Palatini*.

But whether we choose to see in Herr Biehler's cameo a commemoration of the triumph of the father over Maxentius, or of the son over the much more formidable Magnentius, some forty years later, it must be allowed that this work, in point of historical interest, ranks next to the "Gemma Augustea," and the "Apotheosis of Augustus."

XXX. Remarks on the Littera Fraternitatis Concessa Wytfrido Juarii Filio de Insula de Ysland, preserved at Canterbury. Communicated by Eiríkr Magnússon, M.A., Trinity College.

[May 10, 1880.]

The Icelanders of the thirteenth century took great interest in collecting, and bringing together into connected narratives the widespread accounts of the life of Archbishop Thomas of Canterbury. His fame reached Iceland in a remarkably short period, considering the means of communication which in those early times were at the disposal of the Icelanders. As early as about 1190 an Icelandic chief, living in the West-firth quarter of Iceland, made a vow to the Saint under the following circumstances:

"It so fell in Dýra-firth when Raven (i.e. Hrafn Sveinbjarnarson) was there, that a walrus came upon the shore; whereupon people set off to catch it, but the whale plunged into the sea and sank (to the bottom), the wounds having penetrated into the hollow of the body. Then people went in ships to the spot, and made grapnels, trying to drag the whale ashore, but without avail. Then Raven made a vow to the holy bishop Thomas, promising him, in order that the whale might be secured, the teeth of the whale in the head of him (i.e. the skull of the beast with the tusks in), if they should succeed in getting the whale ashore. No sooner was the vow made, than

they found no difficulty in bringing the whale to land. Next to this Raven went away (from the country), and with his crew brought his ship into harbour in Norway. That winter Raven spent in Norway. In the spring he went to England and visited the holy Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, and brought Saint Thomas the teeth, and there he spent his wealth towards a temple, and commended himself to their prayers." (*Hrafns saga Sveinbjarnarsonar*, *Sturlunga*, Clar. Press. Ed. II. p. 277.)

At a comparatively short period after the death of the Archbishop, Iceland possessed a connected narrative of the details of his eventful life, told with a *verve* and point which one would look for in vain in the Latin lives of the Saint. From Iceland we learn that the Archbishop had a biographer who has hitherto been unknown as such in the history of English literature; this was Robert of Crickdale, who was Prior of St Fridesswiths about the time of the Passion of Saint Thomas, whose 'saga' is about to appear in print completed in the *Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores*. Miracles wrought by Thomas came to Iceland, apparently in some cases, by word of mouth, and many of those which the Icelandic saga contains are not included in the authorised Latin collections of Thomas' miracles. The life of Archbishop Thomas had a peculiar charm for the Icelanders, especially his haughty and defiant attitude towards the King, as well as his utter incapacity for diplomatic dexterity and skilful compromise. No other saint of so late a date had had so many churches dedicated to him in Iceland as St Thomas, and no other saint's life had, apparently, been the source of so much lively discussion. Now one further proof of the devotion of which he was the object in Iceland was supplied by the subject of this communication: the *littera fraternitatis concessa Wytfrido Juarii filio de Insula de Ysland*, which was discovered some years ago in the Archives of the Cathedral of Canterbury by Mr Sheppard, the librarian

of the Chapter library. It was first published in Vol. x. of the *Archæologia Cantiana*, by Canon J. C. Robertson. The littera in Mr Sheppard's reading ran as follows:

"Littera fraternitatis Concessa Wytfrido Juarii filio de Insula de Ysland.

"Omnibz Xpi fidelibus ad quos p'sentes l're pervenerint, Joh'es Sancte Cant' Eccl'ie Prior et ejusdem loci Cap'lum sal'm in D'no sempiternam. Cum non decet devocionis odoriferam famam sub modio occultari, que cotidie in martire glorioso sancto Thoma, eciam in ultimis terre finibus, miraculorum fama clarius et crebrius elucescit, mentesque hominum ad superne claritatis aciem alicit et invitat; ad communem omnium hominum noticiam eo fervenciori desiderio cupimus pervenire, quo nonnullos credimus ea occasione ad majoris devocionis gratiam incitari, et ut ipsius patroni nostri beata merita persequamur, et in ejus meritis confitentibus subsidium pietatis divine, quantum ad nos attinet, caritative imperciamur. Hinc est quod nos Prior et Cap'lum p'fate ecclesie, dicti martiris ministri humiles et devoti, ob devocionem et precum instanciam, quibus penes nos vir venerabilis Wytfridus filius Juarii de Insula de Ysland pro se, matre, uxore, et liberis suis, institit, et ob favorem quo dictam ecclesiam nostram et martirem gloriosum devotissime reveretur, ex cujus propagacionis linea se asserit descendisse, caritatis intuitu sibi, suisque matri, uxori, et liberis quos nunc procreavit aut in posterum procreabit, omnium devocionum participacionem que in dicta sancta ecclesia Cantuar. die ac nocte in conspectu Altissimi exercentur aut fient inperpetuum, tam in vita, quam in morte elargimur; teque Wytfridum in domo nostra capitulari una nobiscum presentem unanimiter, Margaretam matrem tuam, Gutredam uxorem tuam, Juarium, Edmundum, Ellendrum, Thurlacum, Ceciliam, Ulfridam, Margaritam, Ingeridam, tuos liberos, licet absentes, ad nostrarum oracionum suffragia et alia pietatis opera, ac in fratres et sorores nostras, tenore presencium, specialiter acceptamus. In cujus rei testimo' sigil' n'rum co'e p'sentibz est appensum. Dat' Cantuar' in domo n'ra capitulari VII° die mens. Octobr. secundum cursum et computacionem eccl'ie Anglicane, Anno D'ni Millesimo quadringentesimo quintodecimo" (Canterbury Cathedral Register, R. 19, fol. 83).

With regard to the name of the vir venerabilis *Wytfridus filius Juarii de Insula de Ysland*, it may be stated at once that *Wytfridus* was originally spelt, no doubt, *Wycfridus* or *Wychfridus*, and *Juarii* represents *Iuarii* or *Ivarii*. The name is undoubtedly that borne by the well known *Vigfús Ivarsson*, whose surname *Hólmr* here reappears in the Latin '*de Insula*,' *hólmr* in Icelandic = *holme* in English, meaning *island*. The spelling

Wytfridus or *Wycfridus* drew its origin from *Wichfrid(us)*, as the name of this same person, in all probability, was spelt in a letter of indulgence for one hundred persons in Norway issued A.D. 1402 by "*Frater Augustinus de Undinis, ordinis S. Benedicti, Apostolicae Sedis Nuntius,*" at the court of Queen *Margaret* of *Denmark* (*Diplomat. Norweg.* v. No. 415). There can hardly be a doubt as to *Vigfús Ivarsson Hólmr* having brought this evidence of his devotion as a credential to the Chapter of Canterbury. Copying the name from this letter of indulgence the Secretary to the Chapter probably meant to give it the form of *Wycfridus*, which may really be the true spelling of the name in the written document, *c* and *t* being identical in shape. This identification of *Vigfús* is borne out absolutely by the other names which occur in the letter. This *Vigfús* was of a Norway-Icelandic family, members of which frequently occupied prominent positions in the political history of Iceland from 1307—cir. 1432. From the above-mentioned 'letter of indulgence' it would seem that the great bulk of 'Vigfus's' family was domiciled in Norway. The *Holms* we find, when appearing for the first time on the scene in Iceland, as allied by marriage to the two most noble and influential families of Southern Iceland: the men of *Oddi*, or descendants of *Sæmund Sigfússon* the *Learned*, the reputed collector of the lays of the *Older Edda*, and the men of *Hawkale*, the descendants of *Isleif Gizurarson*, the first bishop of *Skálaholt*[1]. The records of this family are in a very dislocated state, and too

[1] Isleifr, *first Bishop of Skálaholt.*

Teitr.	Sæmund *the Learned.*
Hallr.	Loptr.
Gizur.	Jon, his daughter:
Þorvaldr.	Solveig.
Teitr.	Þorlákr, his daughter:
Klængr, whose second wife was . .	Þorgerðr, their daughter:

Ásta m. Ivarr Jonsson Hólmr, governor of Iceland in 1307.

fragmentary to allow of anything like a clearly traced account of the house. But a summary of them, such as they are, would not unfitly find a place here. The first mention made of the family in Icelandic records occurs A.D. 1307, when it is stated that *Ivar Jónsson Hólmr* came out the bearer of royal mandates by which one-half of the royal tax was conceded to the king's bailiffs[1]. The same person appears again A.D. 1312 as Herra Ivar[2], having been knighted in the interval. From this time no mention is made of any member of the family till 1345, when an *Ivar Vigfússon Hólmr* appears upon the scene apparently as a royal commissary[3]; he is mentioned again in A.D. 1351 as being entrusted with high official functions, and in 1354 (or, according to others, in 1352), when the annals state that he came out to Iceland with the startling news that he had farmed the revenue of the whole country for three years, being at the same time appointed to the high post of royal commissary[4]. In 1358 this *Ivar Vigfússon* acts on behalf of the laity of Iceland as their commissioner in certain disputes, which at the time greatly strained the friendly relations between the Church and the commonalty[5]. In 1365 he appears at the Althing as royal commissary summoning to the king's presence certain leading men from among the laity[6]. This same year he had commission for the papal Nuncio, *Guido de Cruce*, to collect the papal revenues of Iceland[7]. Whether he still held that commission in 1369, as the Annals assert[8], seems doubtful. He died in 1371[9].

[1] *Islenzkir Annálar*, 1307, cfr Jón Sigurðsson in *Lögsögumanna tal og Lögmanna*, Safn til Sögu Islands, II. 55.

[2] *Isl. Ann.* 1312; Laurentius Saga in *Biskupa sögur*, I. 825 (886).

[3] Espólin, *Arbœkr* I. 79.

[4] *Isl. Ann.* 1351, 1352, 1353, 1354; Espólin, *Arb.* I. 82, 84; *Hist. Eccl. Isl.* I. 426.

[5] *Hist. Eccl. Isl.* I. 528.

[6] *Hist. Eccl. Isl.* II. 213.

[7] *Diplomat. Norweg.* III. No. 339.

[8] *Isl. Ann.* 1369.

[9] *Isl. Ann.* 1371; *Hist. Eccl. Isl.* I. 426; Espólin, I. 99.

In 1389, eighteen years after the death of Ivar Vigfússon, we find the pilgrim to Canterbury, *Vigfús Ivarsson Holmr*, mentioned for the first time, and then as governor of the country[1]. It seems most likely that he was a son of the preceding. In 1393 he is mentioned in connection with an important constitutional incident, as being commissioned by Queen Margaret of Denmark to attempt the enforcement of new taxes by the consent of the Althing, and his popularity is attested to by the resolution of the diet declaring that they would, *for the sake of Vigfús*, give a certain amount once for all, but it should not be called a scat nor be ever demanded again[2]. He appears as arbitrator in a blood suit in 1394[3]. In 1397 (April 27) a still existing charter (*Arna Magnæan Coll.* Fasc. 5, 20) bears witness to his having declared his wife, *Guðríðr Ingimundar dóttir*, to be possessed in her own right of property in Iceland and Norway, amounting in value to 'five hundred hundreds'; consequently he was married before this date, and the statement of the annals that he brought his wife with him, apparently for the first time, to Iceland in 1403, then presumably just married, since she is made to have been only 15 years of age, may go for what it is worth. In 1402 we find him at *Roskild*, as has been alluded to before. In 1405 and 1408 we find him as occupying a lordly position at two of those great nuptial and ecclesiastical banquets which form such striking features of those times[4]. In 1409 (July 2) we find him at the *Althing*, and on the 7th of the same month at an island called *Therney*, as governor of the country, vindicating certain commercial prerogatives vested in the crown[5]. Again in 1413 he figures as one of the signataries to a deed issued by the

[1] *Isl. Ann.* 1390; *Hist. Eccl. Isl.* I. 441; Espólin, I. 110.

[2] *Isl. Ann.* 1393.

[3] *Isl. Ann.* 1394; *Hist. Eccl. Isl.* l. c.; Espólin, I. 119; Jón Sigurðsson, l.c. 75, 76.

[4] *Isl. Ann.* 1405, 1408; Espólin, II. 3, 4.

[5] Jón Sigurðsson, l.c. 170, 171.

Bishop of *Skálaholt*, which conferred certain privileges on the monastery of *Videy*[1]. This same year, in the capacity of governor, he enforces upon a certain English trader, named *Richard*, some restrictive measures regarding his choice of harbour, apparently in favour of the Bishop of *Skálaholt*[2]. The event which stands in immediate connection with his journey to Canterbury will be mentioned presently.

For establishing the authenticity of the present document it is sufficient to mention Vigfus' immediate family connections. We have seen that in all probability he was the son of *Ivar Vigfússon*, and bore, according to unvarying custom, his grandfather's name. His mother was called *Margaret;* she was the daughter of *Össur*, and is supposed by Icelandic genealogists to have been of Norwegian descent. The name of his wife was *Guðríðr*, daughter of *Ingimund*. Of their children only three are mentioned in Icelandic records: *Ivar*, who married *Sophia*, daughter of the greatest North country nobleman of the time, *Lopt the Mighty* of *Möðruvellir* (Maddervales); *Margret*[3], who married *Thorvald*, one of *Lopt's* many sons; and *Erlendr*. Of these *Ivar*[4], as the story goes, was slain by the attendants of the luckless and turbulent bishop *Jón Gerreksson*, whose episcopal career terminated in a sack sunk down a river. But *Margaret* became the mother of a family which still flourishes in various branches in Iceland.

[1] Espólin, II. 8.

[2] *Isl. Ann.* 1413.

[3] Legend surrounds the marriage of *Margaret* with a halo of romance. Having refused to give her hand to one of the attendants of the episcopal brigand *Jón Gerreksson*, the disappointed wooer visited the family residence with sword and fire. *Margaret*, escaping from the burning house, travelled in the guise of a tramp on a bare-backed three-yearling of a pony north to *Eyjafjord*, and promised to marry him who should avenge her and her family's wrongs—and *Thorvald* found the price worth the cost. Espólin, I. 30.

[4] That Ivar, who if the story be true must have died young, was a man of great promise may be inferred from his signature to the oath of allegiance to King Eric of Pomerania, June 14th, 1431, standing first among the signatures of the leading men who framed the deed. Jón Sigurðsson, l.c. 176.

In 1415 king Eric of Pomerania invested the then bishop of *Skálaholt, Arni Olafsson*, with the governorship of the country. On learning this, *Vigfús Ivarsson Hólmr*, in the summer of the same year, betook himself on board one of six English traders, then lying in the harbour of *Hafnarfjord*, and sailed with sixty 'lasts' of fish and a great quantity of precious things away to England. In the following October we find him, as the *littera fraternitatis* testifies, on his pious errand at Canterbury. We are left entirely in the dark as to how *Vigfús* succeeded in substantiating his claim to blood-relationship with the great Cantuarian Saint. It is only fair to suppose that he commanded on the occasion some logic at least as convincing as that of his substantial offerings.

We have seen that the names of *Vigfús*' mother, wife, and three children mentioned in Icelandic annals: *Margret, Guðríðr, Ivar, Erlendr*, at the time pronounced and spelt as now, *Ellendr*, are in absolute agreement with those of the Canterbury document: *Margareta, Gutreda, Ivarius, Ellendrus*. The name of Vigfús' father, Ivar, reappears in that of his son Ivarius, as that of *Gudrid's* father, *Ingimundr*, returns here in the form of her son's name, *Edmundus*. The other children who are not mentioned in Icelandic records probably died young or left the country before they became connected with the history of it. But according to this letter it would seem as if all who are mentioned in it were alive at the time it was issued, unless the words *licet absentes* are accepted in a wider sense than they naturally would bear.

It is evident that this document is thoroughly genuine. That being so, a certain charter dated in die Sancti Magni, i.e. 16th April, 1407 (*Arna-Magnæan Coll.* 238, 4to. fol. 24[b])[1],

[1] *Bref fyri holum i grimsnesi.*

Þad giore e[c] gvdridvr ingemundz-dotter ollvm godvm monnvm kvnnigtt med þesso mino opnv brefi. at ec gef[r] j heidvr med gvd & hans

A charter for Holar in Grimsnes.

I, Gudrid, daughter of Ingimund, make known unto all good men, by this my open letter, that I give, in honour of God and His

whereby *Vigfús'* wife, *Guðríðr*, gives to the Monastery of *Videy* a certain estate, for the soul of her husband and of her son *Erlendr*, must either be misdated or suffer from other still more serious drawbacks to its authenticity. That charter has always been found to be a stumbling-block in the history of *Vigfús Ivarsson Hólmr*, for it is quite certain that he lived long after that date and, according to the *Hist. Eccl.*, did not die till A.D. 1429[1].

For valuable hints relating to the identification of Vigfús Ivarsson Hólmr, I am indebted to the very learned Chief Justice of Iceland, Mr Jón Pjetursson; for the transcript of the 'Bref fyri holum i grimsnesi' to the renowned Editor of 'Grágás,' Dr Vilhjálmr Finsen, Judge in the Supreme Court of Judicature at Copenhagen.

signada modir Marie til æverndiligx bæna haldz til videyar stadar jordina sem holar heita med VIII kvigilldum sem lig^{r} j grimsnesi fyri sal vigfvsar jvarssonar & hans sonar, ellendz, sem gvd þeirra sal frelsi til æfverndiligrar eignar, med ollvm þeim gognvm & gædvm sem til hennar liggvr & leigit hefvr fra fornv & nyiv & avngvv vndann skilldv, svo framt sem ec matte framast med logvm hana eignazt, samþyckte minn sonvr jvar, þessa mina giord med mier, og til sanninda hier vm setti ec mitt innsigle fyri þetta bref er giortt var j bravtarhollti jn die sancti Magni martiris anno domini MCDVIJ.

Blessed Mother Mary, for perpetual offering-up of prayers, to the Monastery of Videy the farm which is called Hólar, with a stock of VIII 'cow-gilds' (= farm-stock of the value of eight cows), for the souls of Vigfus Ivarsson and his son Ellend—on whose souls may God be merciful —in perpetual possession with all commodities and advantages which thereunto have belonged heretofore and at present belong, with nothing exempted, all with as full rights as I might the same by fullest right in law have acquired. To this my deed gave consent my son, Ivar, with me conjointly, and in witness thereof I placed my seal to this letter, which was done at Brautarholt in die Sancti Magni martiris anno domini MCDVIJ.

[1] *Hist. Eccl. Isl.* IV. 170.

XXXI. On some Burial Urns found near the mouth of the Amazon River. Communicated by Neville Goodman, Esq., M.A., Peterhouse.

[May 24th, 1880.]

These burial urns (now unfortunately in a fragmentary condition) were found in the Island of Marajou, which lies between the main mouth of the Amazon and that of the Tocantins river. This island is about the size of Ireland and is formed by a channel, lying behind it, which connects the two rivers, through which channel all the traffic of the Amazon now passes on its way to and from the interior to Parà, which is the sole port of that immense river.

This island, like the rest of the district (at least on the south of the Amazon), lies on a dead flat. One half of it is covered with water during the season of high water, and probably there is no point in the whole island which rises thirty feet above high water mark, and but few which attain an elevation of twenty feet above that level. Though a large

part of the island is covered with forest like the rest of the district, Marajou is peculiar in having large expanses of "campo" or plain unencumbered with trees and clothed with coarse grass, so that it is made use of to pasture large herds of semi-wild cattle whose culture and exportation constitute the chief wealth and commerce of this sparsely populated island.

The immediate locality in which I found the urns was a small island of two or three acres in extent, lying near the bank of a long narrow and shallow lake, which is almost at the centre of Marajou and is called Arary. This lake discharges its waters through a river of the same name into the Tocantins. The river is about eighty miles long.

The centre of the small island rises perhaps fifteen to twenty feet above the walls of the lake, and thus stands at a higher level than any land round the lake. Viewed from a distance its elevation is marked on the horizon in comparison with the rest of the land. The central part is clothed with trees, but this high part is but a small portion of the island. It is surrounded or bounded by a low cliff formed by the denudation of the island by the action of the waters of the lake. The remaining surrounding part consists of a talus sloping very gently to the water and covered with weeds and trailers. All round the island is a strand made up of worn and broken pieces of pottery, doubtless washed out from the denuded soil of the island during the very considerable period for which this denudation has been going on. The soil is fine vegetable mould, which, having been subjected to repeated tropical rains and bakings under an equatorial sun, had become very much endurated.

The urns were found partially projecting from the low cliff. They were embedded, at no great depth, in the soil. The roots of the trees had in some instances permeated and passed through them. Probably the tops of the vessels were originally about two feet from the surface, and no pottery seemed to have

been buried more than five or six feet from the surface, that is, at least ten feet above the surface of the lake. These details seem necessary to shew the character of the vessels, &c.

We have then

(A) A highly ornamented and curiously shaped urn (see Figs. 1 and 2).

Fig. 1. Urn A restored.

This contained bones which crumbled into fragments and dust when disturbed. The bones were human. I could identify

the heads of two femora, one of the humerus, parts of the ulna, radius and fibula, and also parts of the ramus of the lower jaw. They were of small size. I am not able to determine whether they were of an adult or a child. If of an adult, the race (known to have been small) must have been even considerably smaller than the present aborigines. The urn has at least one, probably two, coatings of finer clay superimposed on the clay forming the main structure, and a pattern is engraved on it which cuts through the top white coating and reveals the salmon-coloured clay below. Inasmuch as the indenture, rather than that which is left, forms the pattern, perhaps it ought to be called an intaglio rather than a cameo. Bosses have also been added to complete the design.

(B) Rough globular vessel without pattern (see Fig. 3). This contained no bones and only some broken pottery which was not preserved.

3 2

Scale $\frac{1}{10}$ lin.

Fig. 2. Outline of A restored, omitting pattern. Fig. 3. Outline of B.
Fig. 4. Knob supposed to belong to the cover of B.

A rude conventionalized representation of a clothed human head (B') (Fig. 4), which I conjecture was the knob or handle of the cover of the vessel, was found in it. This knob or head is almost precisely similar to one in the British Museum which was brought from Parà.

(C) Urn (Fig. 9) with a rude pattern formed in the same way which contained some fragments of human bones.

Other vessels without pattern were dug out which were either broken in situ or in removing them, and one of them contained the singular triangular piece of porcelain exhibited.

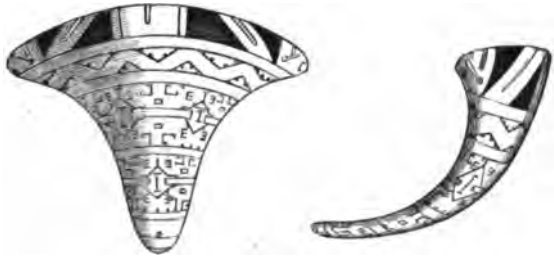
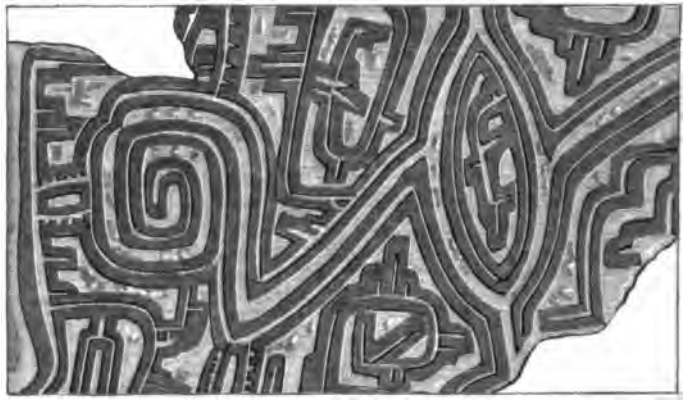


Fig. 5.

It was whole when we found it, but was broken by a careless servant, and one of the pieces lost. I have never seen anything like it, but its shape and the three holes by which it was suspended seem plainly to indicate that it was an article of female dress or adornment, used for purposes of decency, and perhaps its presence in a burial urn indicated the condition of the woman to whom it belonged.

(D) Besides these are some fragments of a large and

elaborately ornamented vessel, which must have been between five and six feet in circumference with a rounded base.



Scale ½.

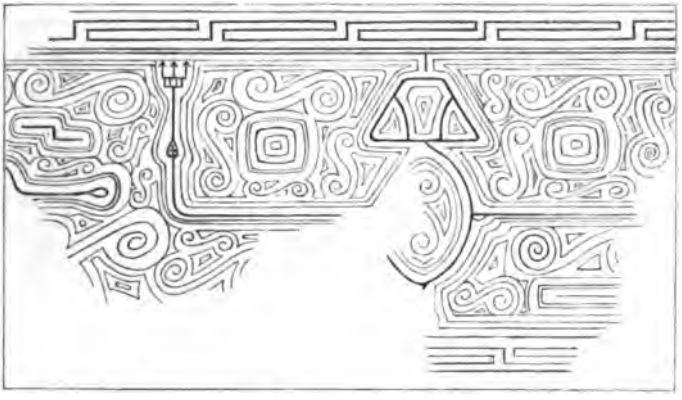
Fig. 6. Pattern on fragment of D.

The pattern in this case also is made by the aid of two layers of finer clay, and since the portion left constitutes the pattern it must be considered a kind of cameo. The pattern seems to have been made first by indented lines; then these lines had a border left on each side of them and the remaining surface was worked away with a tool after the clay had attained to some degree of hardness.

(E and F) Portions of two other vessels of similar shape and probably for the same use. They are hollow, short cylinders with horizontal shelves on the upper edges (see Fig. 7).

Fig. 7. Vessel E, omitting pattern.

(E) Presents perhaps the best specimen of workmanship.



Scale ½ lin.

Fig. 8. Pattern on a fragment of vessel E.

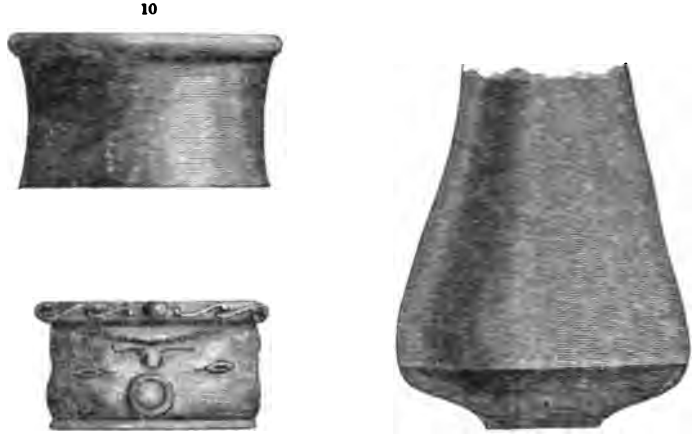
In this case the chasing seems to have been done while the clay was yet soft; the tool squeezing it up in some places. It has on its upper and under borders well-defined and well-executed designs which have been misnamed the Greek, or key pattern.

(F) The other vessel is similarly formed, but has a rough sketch of eyes, eyebrows, and a ridiculously small nose, in rude imitation of the human head. The large boss was to lift it by, and probably was not intended to correspond to any feature of the face.

Portions of other vessels with painted patterns upon them. If I may offer a few remarks where others of so much more knowledge and experience are listening, I should like to call attention to the following points.

The facts adduced shew conclusively that these were the burial urns of an ancient people and the place from which I got them was an ancient cemetery. The elevation and the

insularity of the place of burial made it peculiarly suitable for interment; for the bodies could be readily brought there by water (the mode of carriage which from time immemorial has



Scale $\frac{1}{16}$ lin.

Fig. 9. Urn C, omitting pattern. Fig. 10. Vessel E, omitting pattern.
Fig. 11. Vessel F.

been practised by the Amazon Indians), and buried out of the reach of the water and protected in some degree from disturbance from wild beasts.

The aboriginal Indians have ceased to exist in Marajou with anything like tribal relations, or distinctive customs, for more than a century, and have become absorbed into that mixed population which forms the strange community of the Brazilian people.

I am not aware that any customs of interment similar to those indicated by these urns exist among the tribes of Indians higher up the Amazon, and certainly I have never seen any pottery of theirs which evinces anything like so high a state of civilization and art as these do, or indeed anything which shows any similarity to them.

On the other hand, an examination of these vessels and their ornamentation proves that their manufacturers must have had some relations with the ancient peoples of Peru, Granada, Central America, and Mexico, so that I have no hesitation in saying that the art indicated by this pottery was a branch of that wide-spread civilization which extended from Central America through the lands of the Incas to the southern hemisphere along the Andes, and which seemed to shrivel and totally disappear at the rude touch of the fiercer and harsher civilization of the West, whose forces were wielded by the Spaniards under Cortez and Pizarro.

As an illustration of this and also as a means of conducting us to another point of interest, this urn (A) is doubtless a highly conventional representation of the human figure, with its head, trunk, arms, nose, breasts, feet, and other organs presented on each side in a bifacial arrangement. This is demonstrated by comparison with those burial jars roughly copied from some in the Christy collection from Peru and New Granada. The analogy is shewn not so much in the fact that the Peruvian and Granada ancient people interred their bones in jars roughly representing the human figure, as in the minor detail with which this representation was carried out; such for instance as the disposition of the arms, the tendency to make the eyebrows meet, to minimise the nose and to suppress the mouth. These and many more minute matters indicate an imitative connection.

The correspondence of this custom of fashioning the receptacle of the remains of the dead into something resembling the human living body, with the same custom among the ancient Egyptians, is remarkable. The difference however in the method of carrying this idea out in the wooden mummy cases of the one people and the pottery urns of the other may indicate that a distinction may be drawn between similar results produced by like tendencies of the human mind and the

same produced by community and actual imitation. There are, however, many other points of resemblance between the art of the Egyptians and the ancient South American races. We have here the so-called Greek pattern. Of course this is a misnomer. I have seen this same pattern on the roofs and walls of Egyptian temples which were excavated from the rocks before Greek art or the Greek nation had any existence. It is certainly remarkable that this pattern should be found so very generally adopted among races so different as the classical and neo-Indian races. The pattern in itself is not very elaborate. It might have arisen from a desire to break up the monotony of a fillet or border by cross lines coupled with the pleasure

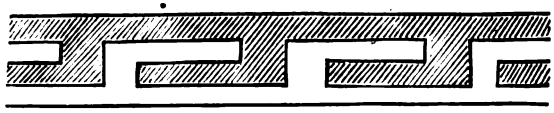
Scale $\frac{1}{10}$.

Fig. 12.

experienced by the human mind in discovering that a pattern is not only symmetrical but complementary. What I mean by complementary will be explained by the conjectural process.

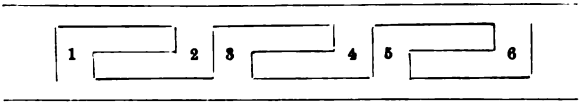
Suppose a fillet thus represented be broken up by cross

lines thus. Then into these spaces the staircase pattern (a



pattern very prevalent in the Peruvian and Mexican ornamentation) is introduced thus, with a differentiation of colour or surface on each side, and a corresponding difference in the upper and under border, and we have the Greek or key pattern in its simplest form.

Now I conceive the charm of this pattern and that which has caused it to be preserved and elaborated by so many



different races to be this. Having made the keys 1, 3, 5, &c. without relation to anything else, the artist, or observer, dis-

Fig. 13.

covers that he has also constructed the inverted and complementary keys 2, 4, 6, &c. This delight in complementary

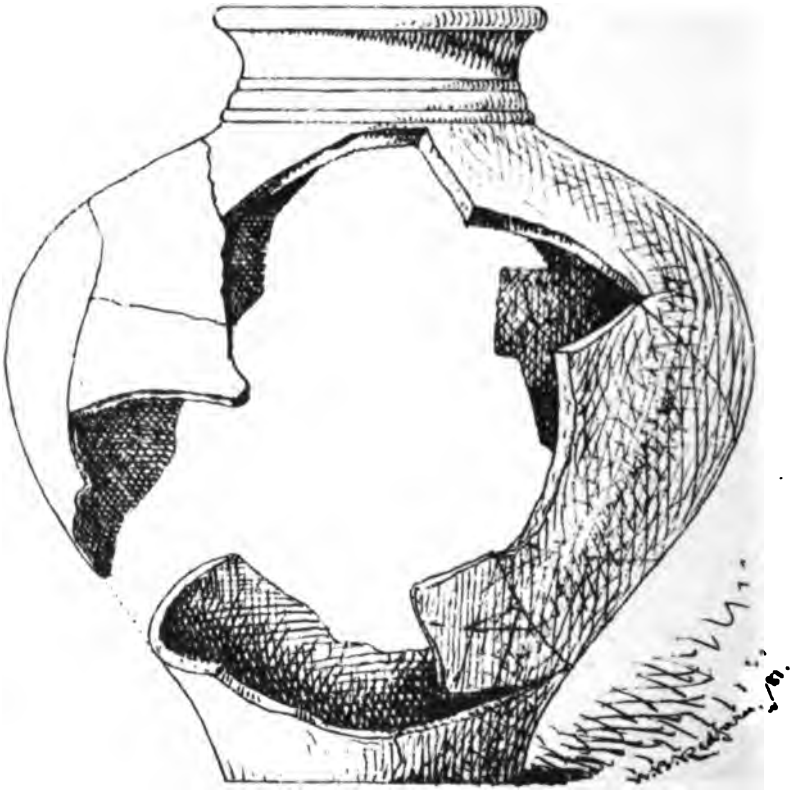
patterns I could illustrate by many examples if I had time. The most striking of correspondences between Egyptian and American art is, however, the winged orb over the doorway in one of the Indian temples in Ocosingo, C. A. (given in Stephen's travels), and the well-known winged orb found so generally over the doors of Egyptian temples. In this case the shape and disposition of the wing feathers are remarkably like, but the edges of the wing are reversed, the front edge being directed upward in Egyptian and downward in American art.

The curious cylinders shewn I conjecture were to support the vessels which have tapering bases in the same manner as Roman amphoræ were supported by ring stands. That the burial urns when interred needed no such support seems by no means to invalidate the conjecture. It is the ideas of decorum and solicitude for the remains of the departed (which in all ages have characterized the rites of sepulture) that are satisfied by these elaborate stands.

It is curious that these urns seem to be too small and have too narrow mouths to admit of a human body being placed in them in whatever manner doubled up without mutilation. It would appear that the bodies were first dried in the sun and then broken up and introduced into these urns.

I think some if not all of these vessels must have been turned on the wheel.

I cannot find that there are any similar burial urns from the same neighbourhood or from within thousands of miles of it in England. Such urns, however, were known to exist in Marajou, as they were mentioned to me before I started from Parà under the Indian name of Igaçaba.



ROMANO-BRITISH VASE

FOUND IN THE GRAVE AT HUNSTANTON.

Drawn about half the size of original.

XXXII. Short Statement relative to some Roman Graves found at Hunstanton. Communicated by Wm. White, Esq., Sub-Librarian of Trinity College. (With one plate.)

[May 24, 1880.]

During a short visit to Hunstanton, in October 1879, a rumour reached me of some Pottery having been found by workmen who were employed in excavating for the new Esplanade and Swimming Baths, in course of erection there. On enquiring at the works, the men told me that they had dug up three urns; the first of which, having been broken, was thrown away; I have since ascertained that a portion of this urn was secured by J. H. Scott Durbin, Esq., of Hunstanton; the second was purchased by a gentleman passing at the time it was found; the third, which they produced in a broken state and which proves to be imperfect, is the one before you (figured on the accompanying plate), and is at present in my own possession. All three graves were discovered in September of the same year.

I am not aware that there is anything remarkable about the urn exhibited, nor would it have been brought before you, but for the evidence that it affords in support of my opinion that the workmen had come across some Roman graves.

Knowing the proneness of such men to impose upon likely purchasers, I asked to be shewn the spots whence

the urns had been taken. At the places indicated, I perceived that the face of the cliff presented sectional views of three narrow pits, the limits of which were marked out by a series of perpendicular and horizontal lines of shells. The first pit shewed only a white horizontal line of about 10 or 12 inches in length, being evidently the bottom of the pit, which was formed of the flat valve of the oyster, with a few other small shells intermixed; this I was able to trace back for nearly 3 feet, finding, as I did so, that the width did not exceed 13 or 14 inches.

The second pit presented in section a similar horizontal line to the last, with the addition of a perpendicular line at either end. By carefully removing the soil from between these lines, I hoped to find this pit in a comparatively perfect condition, but unfortunately, at a distance of only four inches, I was met by a facing of shells, shewing that the greater part had been dug away by the workmen, and that what I now saw was one end only of the pit. In this case the sides and end were composed entirely of mussels, the bottom, as in the last case, being covered with the shell of the oyster.

The third pit seemed more perfect, as in the section the outline presented the four sides of a square; but this also had been dug away, so that a very little trouble sufficed to lay bare the end. I found then that I had before me a cavity about 20 inches broad by 14 inches high, the sides and end of which were lined with mussels, and the top and bottom were formed of the flat valve of the oyster.

In removing the earth from between these lines, I came across a fragment of the urn I possessed, on the very spot where the workmen told me they had found it. This, of course, served to corroborate the truth of their statement that the urn was found there.

All three pits were on the same level, at about 5½ feet below the surface, just resting on the top of the Carstone,—the

first having its longest length due North and South, the other two due East and West.

Now from the measurements, the position, and the depth below the surface, I do not think it too much to assume that these pits were really graves, their peculiarity seeming to consist in their being thus lined with shells. And assuming them to be graves, the spot appears to have been well chosen for such a purpose, for it is just here that the Chalk and the Red Limestone both crop out; so that, instead of finding not more than 8 or 10 inches of subsoil, which is the case all around, you have here a depth of 5 or 6 feet of subsoil, overlaying many feet of the soft Carstone, before you arrive at the hard Green Sandstone. Again, the finding of urns in these pits, goes, I think, far towards *proving* them to be graves; one, in all probability, having been placed in each. And, if we take for granted that they are graves, then the urns, without doubt, shew them to be Roman graves, seeing that these are of the common shape and make of the Roman urn.

Their proximity to Brannodunum, a Roman station about six miles north of this place, would also give force to this opinion, especially as a Roman Road, known as the Pedar's Way, which ran from Camulodunum (Colchester) to Brannodunum (Brancaster), passed close by the spot. And we know that it was the custom of the Romans to bury their dead by the sides of their roads, not only in Rome, along the Via Appia, but also in this and other countries. Most of the Roman curiosities discovered at Colchester were found on either side of the Roman Way. The famous bas-relief of the Roman Centurion, now in the very interesting museum of Mr George Joslin at Colchester, and figured both in Farrar's *Life of Christ*, p. 708, and Lewin's *Life and Epistles of St Paul*, Vol. II. p. 182, had fallen on its face on the Roman Road, thus fortunately preserving the figure, whilst its back had become smooth by the constant traffic.

The fact that no coins, bronze implements, nor ornaments of any kind have at present been found here, may perhaps be accounted for by considering this place, at that time, to have been but an out-station or village, and consequently that none but the poorer sort of people would be likely to be buried here.

It is probable that these graves were originally far in-land; for we learn from Blomefield (in his *History of Norfolk*) that in his time the sea had gained on the land nearly two miles; and, since then, every season has seen the fall and the washing away of large masses of cliff.

On this cliff, at a short distance to the north of these graves, stand the remains of a chapel said to have been built by St Edmund, but more probably built and dedicated to him about the time of Edward I. The little that remains of it shews it to have been constructed almost entirely of stones from the cliff. The story of St Edmund landing here, and remaining two years on this spot, whilst he committed to memory the whole of the book of Psalms in the Saxon language, will not bear investigation. That he landed here is perhaps not altogether improbable, as no doubt the beach was then of a very different character from that of the present day.

INDEX.

A.

Alexandria, sard found there, in Mr King's collection, figured, 81
Almanack, *see* Calendar
Amazon River, burial urns found near the mouth of the, 411
Andrew, J., Legal opinion of, concerning the proposed sale of King's College Bells, 237
Andrews, W., Inscribed Vase in the possession of, 339
Antwerp, 'La Maison Plantin,' 271
Arundel, Thomas, Bp. of Ely, arms at Landbeach, figured, facing 255

B.

Babington, C. C., John Gerard's letter on a proposed Physic Garden at Cambridge, 7
Bacon, G. M., description of an old wooden tankard, 219
Banks, Rev. S., Description of the Canoe found in North Fen, Haddenham, 196
Barnwell, on a flint implement found at, 177
Barton, Rev. J., notes on the past history of Trinity Church, 313
Beck, Rev. J., Runic Calendar in his possession, 17
Becket, Thomas à, 401, 402
Beda, story of Etheldreda, 65
Bedell, *see* Yeoman Bedell
Bedells, *see* Esquire Bedells
Bells, history of the peal of, belonging to King's College, 223; copy of inscriptions on them, opposite 223
Biehler, Tobias, cameo representing the triumph of Constantine, in his collection, 391
Birch, Mr, on the date of a seal found on the Newmarket Road, 189
Birch, Dr, 339
Blair, Mr Robert, Roman bronze in his collection, figured, 340
Blomfield, A. W., supposed date of a window discovered in Grantchester Church, 64
Boulak Museum, flint weapons in, 93
Bradshaw, H., note on the various spellings of the name of St Erasmus in the Trinity parish accounts, 327
Bronze, Roman handle, found at South Shields, figured, 340
Browne, A. J. Jukes, flint implements found at Helwan, near Cairo, 85

C.

Calendar, early Runic, found in Lapland, 17
— description of a Norwegian, 129
Cambridge, John Gerard's letter proposing a Physic Garden there, 7
— history of the peal of bells belonging to King's College, 223
— on the old Provost's lodge of King's College, 285
— woodwork from Jesus College Chapel in Landbeach Church, 252
— notes on the past history of Trinity Church, 313

Cambridge, history of the Church of St John Baptist, 343
— parish of St John Baptist, map shewing how the parish lay, facing, 345
— parish of St Edward, documents from Trinity Hall and King's College relating to the union with St John's parish, printed, 358, &c.
Canoe, found embedded in the Fen-peat near Magdalen Bend, figured, 198, 203
Canterbury, Prior and Convent of Christ Church, 'Littera fraternitatis,' granted by them to Wytfridus filius Ivarii de Insula, 403
Caracalla, denarius of, in the British Museum, figured, 279
Carisius, T., 'Moneta of,' 111; coin of his, figured, 111
Cave, Rev. R. H., plasma representing Hope, in his collection, figured, 71
Cellini, Benvenuto, directions for casting bronzes, 69
— mode in which dies were prepared, 115
Chamberlayne, Sir Thomas, of Landbeach, 245; his monument in the Church there, figured, 250
Charles V., King of France, signet-ring of, figured, 186
Charterhouse, on nine Roman signets lately found in the lead mines there, 277
Chesterton Church, on a fresco in, 3
Christopher, St, part of a painting of him, discovered in Grantchester Church, 63
Clark, J. W., history of the peal of bells belonging to King's College, Cambridge, 223
— on the old Provost's lodge of King's College, 285
Clark, J. W., history of the church of St John Baptist, Cambridge, 343
Claudius I., sesterce of, in Mr Lewis' cabinet, figured, 72
Cohendy, M., reasons for thinking that the ring found at Montpensier belonged to the Black Prince, 185
Coining and the implements of coining, 109
— cut from Holinshed's chronicles representing the process, 127
Constantine II., 'third brass' coin of, in Mr Lewis' cabinet, figured, 82
Constantine, cameo representing the triumph of, 391
Corpus Christi, arms of the guild of, at Landbeach, figured, 248
Court rolls of the manor of Littleport, 97

D.

Deeping Fen, canoe found there, 197
Delta, mummy's treasures discovered in the, 385
Dereham, stone figure of mitred abbot probably of that place, in Trinity Church, 316
Dorchester, Dudley Carleton, Viscount, letter to the Vice-Chancellor in 1630 concerning the lecture at Trinity Church, 324
Dorothea, St, fresco possibly representing her in Chesterton Church, 4
Duffield, A. J., on some pre-historic Peruvian stone implements, 13
Dutton, R., description of a mediæval merchant's mark, and some remarks upon seals of the same period, 187

E.

Ear rings, found with a mummy in the Delta, figured, 390
Edward the Black Prince, notice of a ring supposed to have belonged to, 181
Elizabeth of Hungary, St, fresco possibly representing her in Chesterton Church, 5
Erasmus, St, stone figure erroneously supposed to represent him in Trinity Church, 315
Esquire Bedells, on the maces of the, 207
Etheldreda, Beda's story of St, 65

F.

Faulder, W. W., on eight swords, 377
Flint weapons of Ptolemaic age, 93
Fordham's house, Cambridge, 289
Foster, J. E., on 'La Maison Plantin' at Antwerp, 271

G.

Gerard, John, proposal for a physic garden at Cambridge, 7
Goodman, N., on some burial urns found near the mouth of the Amazon river, 411
Goodwin, Thomas, lecturer at Trinity Church, 324
Grantchester Church, recent discoveries in, 63
Graves, Roman, found at Hunstanton, 423
Griffith, A. F., on a flint implement found at Barnwell, 177
Grosseto, 'Spes vetus' found at, 67
Guilden Morden, description of a vase found at, 337

H.

Haddenham, canoe found at North Fen, 195
Hailstone, E., notice of a ring found at Montpensier and supposed to have belonged to the Black Prince, 181
Helena, Empress, ivory bas-relief representing her, at Trèves, figured, 399
Helwan, flint implements found at, 85
Hoffmann, H., Shekel of the year 5 in his possession, figured, 9
Holinshed, R., on the table of distances between different towns given by, in his description of England, 261
Howard, Rev. F. G., recent discoveries in Grantchester Church, 63
Hughes, Prof., flint implements found at Helwan, 85
Humphry, A. P., on the maces of the Esquire Bedells, and the mace formerly borne by the yeoman Bedell, 207
Hunstanton, Roman graves found at, 423

I.

Ivory bas-relief representing the Empress Helena at Trèves, 397; figured, 399

J.

Jackson, B. D., John Gerard's letter proposing a physic garden at Cambridge, 7
Jeffry, Capt., Collection of Peruvian stone implements made by him, 13
Jesus College Chapel, woodwork from, in Landbeach Church, 252—257, pieces of it figured, 253, 256, 257

Jusserand, V., ring supposed to have belonged to the Black Prince, sold by him to the Baron Jérome Pichon, 182

K.

King, Rev. C. W., on an antique statuette representing 'Spes vetus,' 67
— sard representing Spes and Aesculapius, in his collection, figured, 81
— remarks on the 'moneta' of T. Carisius, 111
— on the date of a seal found on the Newmarket Road, 189
— on a Mummy's treasures discovered in the Delta, 385
— the Triumph of Constantine, 391
King's College, history of the peal of bells belonging to, 223; copy of inscriptions on them, opposite 223
— on the old Provost's Lodge, 285; ground plan, 287; inventory of College goods there in 1660, 306

L.

Landbeach Church, discoveries made during the restoration of, 245
Lewis, Rev. S. S., on a shekel of the year v., 9
— Sesterce of Claudius I. in his collection, figured, 72
— 'third brass' coin of Constantine II. in his collection, figured, 82
— pair of coin-dies belonging to him, figured, 118; the trussell figured, 110
Lewis, Rev. S. S., on nine Roman signets lately found in the lead-mines at Charterhouse on Mendip, 277
— description of a vase found at Guilden-Morden, 337
— ear-rings in his possession, found with a mummy, figured, 390
L'Isle, Thomas de, Bp. of Ely, arms at Landbeach, figured facing, 255
Litlington, discoveries at, 339, 340
Littleport, on some ancient court rolls of the manor of, 97
Louis le Débonnaire, denier of his, figured, 113

M.

Mace, the, formerly borne by the yeoman bedell, 207
Maces, on the, of the esquire bedells, 207; one of them figured, opposite 207
Magdalen Bend, on an ancient canoe found imbedded in the fen-peat near there, on the river Ouse, 195; cuts representing the position, 202, 204
Magnússon, E., on an early Runic calendar, 17
— description of a Norwegian clog calendar, 129
— remarks on the Littera Fraternitatis Concessa Wytfrido Ivarii Filio de Insula de Ysland, 401
Marajou, burial urns found in the Island of, 411
Mariette Bey, M., Opinion of, as to the age of the Helwan implements, 93
Marshall, W., on some ancient court rolls of the manor of Littleport, 97

Marshall, W., on an ancient Canoe found imbedded in the fen-peat near Magdalen Bend, on the river Ouse, in Norfolk, 195
Melle, denier of Louis le Débonnaire struck there, figured, 113
Merchant's marks, two mediæval, figured, 187, 193
Montpensier, notice of a ring found at, 181

N.

Naylor, T. H., on a fresco in Chesterton Church 3
Nero, 'second brass' coin of, found at Litlington, figured, 340
Nerva, sesterce of, in Mr Lewis' cabinet, figured, 279
Newmarket Road, seal found in one of the coprolite pits there, 187
North Stoke, canoe found at, 197
Norwegian calendar, description of a, 129

O.

Olivier, Aubry, inventor of the coining-press, 123
Ouse, on an ancient Canoe found imbedded in the fen-peat near Magdalen Bend in that river, 195

P.

Pearson, Rev. J. B., on the table of distances between different towns given by Holinshed in his description of England, 261
— note on the present English statute mile; and on the smaller measures of length, 267
— note on the milestones on the road from Cambridge to London, 268
Peckover, A., Description of a Canoe found in Deeping Fen, 197; figured, 198
Peruvian stone implements, 13
Pichon, Baron Jérome, ring in his collection, supposed to have belonged to the Black Prince, figured, 181
Plantin, Christopher, the 'Maison Plantin' at Antwerp, 271
Preston, Dr John, lecturer at Trinity Church, 320

R.

Reil, Dr W., flint implements discovered at Helwan by, 85
Ring, notice of a, supposed to have belonged to the Black Prince, 181
Robertson, J. D., on coining and the implements of coining, 109
Roman signets, on nine, lately found in the lead-mines at Charterhouse, 277
Runic calendar found in Lapland, 17, printed 57—62

S.

St Edward's Parish in Cambridge, documents relating to its union with that of St John, 361, 362
St John Baptist's Church, in Cambridge, its history, 343
Sanderson, Rev. T. J., 'second brass' coin of Nero in his possession, figured, 340
Sard found at Alexandria, in Mr King's collection, figured, 81
Seals, mediæval, some remarks upon, 187
Shekel of the year v., figured, 9
Short, Rev. F. W., red sard representing Hope, in his collection, figured, 71
Sibbes, Dr Richard, lecturer at Trinity Church, Cambridge, 317

Signets, nine Roman, found at Charterhouse on Mendip, 277, same figured 278, 280, 281, 282, 284
Skertchley, Mr., 199
Smith, R. G., Norwegian clog calendar in his possession, figured facing 129
South Shields, bronze handle discovered at, figured and described, 340
'Spes vetus,' on an antique statuette representing, 67
Swords, on eight, 377

T.

Tankard, description of an old wooden, 219, 220, same figured, 219
Thomas, John, Bp. of Lincoln, letter concerning the sale of King's College bells, 239
Trinity Church, Cambridge, notes on the past history of, 313
— exterior and interior views, facing 313
Tyrtra, cameo once belonging to a Greek of that name, described, 391, figured, 393

U.

Urns, burial, found near the mouth of the Amazon river, 411, figured, 413, 421

V.

Vase found at Guilden Morden, 337
— Romano-British, found at Hunstanton, figured, opposite 424
Vespasian, sesterce of, in Mr Lewis' cabinet, figured, 80
Vigfús Ivarsson Hólmr, or de Insula, of Iceland, letters of fraternity granted him by the prior and convent of Christchurch, Canterbury, printed, 403

W.

Waldron, Mr Cl., gem in his possession, figured and described, 284
Walker, Rev. Dr Bryan, discoveries made during the restoration of Landbeach Church, 245
Watkin, Mr Thompson, note on the occurrence of 'Utere felix,' 341
White, W., on some Roman graves found at Hunstanton, 423
Winchester, specimen of a thumb ring found there, 193
Wytfridus filius Ivarii de Insula, same as Vigfús Ivarsson Hólmr, of Iceland, 403

Y.

Yeoman Bedell, on the mace borne by the, 207

End of Vol. IV.

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

XIV. Description of a Mediæval Merchant's Mark, and some Remarks upon Seals of the same period. Communicated by REGINALD DUTTON, Esq., Trinity College 187

XV. On an Ancient Canoe found imbedded in the Fen-Peat near Magdalen Bend, on the River Ouse, in the County of Norfolk. Communicated by W. MARSHALL, Esq., of Ely . . . 195

XVI. On the Maces of the Esquire Bedells, and the Mace formerly borne by the Yeoman Bedell. Communicated by A. P. HUMPHRY, Esq., M.A., Trinity College. (With one Plate.) . 207

XVII. Description of an Old Wooden Tankard. Communicated by Dr G. MACKENZIE BACON, M.A. 219

XVIII. History of the Peal of Bells belonging to King's College, Cambridge. Communicated by J. W. CLARK, Esq., M.A., Trinity College. (With one Plate.) 223

XIX. Notes upon Discoveries made during the recent restoration of Landbeach Church, by the Rev. BRYAN WALKER, LL.D., Rector. (With two Plates.) 245

XX. On the Table of Distances between different Towns given by Holinshed in his description of England. Communicated by the Rev. J. B. PEARSON, D.D., Emmanuel College . . . 259

XXI. On "La Maison Plantin" at Antwerp. Communicated by J. E. FOSTER, Esq., M.A., Trinity College 271

XXII. On nine Roman signets lately found in the lead-mines at Charterhouse on Mendip. By the Rev. S. S. LEWIS, M.A., Corpus Christi College 277

XXIII. On the Old Provost's Lodge of King's College, with special reference to the Furniture. Communicated by J. W. CLARK, Esq., M.A., Trinity College 285

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REPORT

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CONTENTS OF COMMUNICATIONS.

		PAGE
XXIV.	Notes on the past History of the Church of Holy Trinity, Cambridge. Communicated by the Rev. J. Barton, M.A., Vicar. (With three plates.)	313
XXV.	Description of an Inscribed Vase, lately found at Guilden Morden, Cambridgeshire. Communicated by the Rev. S. S. Lewis, M.A., Corpus Christi College (With one plate.) .	337
XXVI.	History of the Church of S. John Baptist, Cambridge; commonly called S. John Zachary. Communicated by J. W. Clark, Esq., M.A., Trinity College. (With one plate.) .	343
XXVII.	On Eight Swords. Communicated by W. Wareing Faulder, Esq., Downing College. (With one plate.)	377
XXVIII.	On a Mummy's Treasures recently discovered in the Delta. Communicated by the Rev. C. W. King, M.A., Trinity College.	385
XXIX.	The Triumph of Constantine. Communicated by the Rev. C. W. King, M.A., Trinity College. (With illustrations.) .	391
XXX.	Remarks on the Littera Fraternitatis Concessa Wytfrido Juarii Filio de Insula de Ysland, preserved at Canterbury. Communicated by Eiríkr Magnússon, M.A., Trinity College .	401
XXXI.	On some Burial Urns found near the mouth of the Amazon River. Communicated by Neville Goodman, Esq., M.A., Peterhouse. (With illustrations.)	411
XXXII.	Short Statement relative to some Roman Graves found at Hunstanton. Communicated by Wm. White, Esq., Sub-Librarian of Trinity College. (With one plate.) . . .	423
Index to Vol. IV.		427
Title and Contents to Communications, Vol. IV.		

LIST OF PLATES.

Trinity Church in 1824, exterior and interior facing one another . preceding 313
Stone figure of a mitred abbot . . . . . facing 314
Inscribed Vase found at Guilden Morden . . . . . facing 337
Map of the part of Cambridge in which S. John Baptist's Church was situated (double plate) . . . . . preceding 349
Swords in the possession of W. Wareing Faulder, Esq. (double plate) . . . . . preceding 383
Romano-British Vase found at Hunstanton . . . . . facing 423

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